OF THE

SUBJECT

OF

Church-Power,

In whom it Resides.

Its *Force*, *Extent*, and *Execution*, that it Opposes not Civil Government in any one Instance of it.

Nec sic tamen, quatenùs novissimis temporibus, in Ecclesia Dei aut Evangelicus nigor cecidit, aut Christiana virtutis, aut fidei robur, elanguit, ut non superstet portio Sacerdotum quæ misèrimè ad hæc rerum ruinas aut fidei Naufragia succumbat, sed fortis & habilis, honorem divinæ Majestatis & Sacerdotalem dignitatem, plenâ timoris observatione, tueatur. Cypr. Ep. 68.

Μηγε, ὦν, βασιλέως ἐξ ἱερέως ἰδιάζειν διαφέρειν, μήτε ἱερεῖ ἀλλοίας διδάσκαλον, ἀμβεβηκὸς γὰρ τὸ τοῦ μέτρου, ἀδιάφορον ἀξίως καλοῦμεν. Theodos Imperator. apud Theodoritum, Eccles. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 18.

By *SIMON LOWTH*, Vicar of *Cosmus Blene* in the Diocess of *CANTERBURY*.

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TO THE READER.

'TIS now full two years, and upward, since that huge din and noise, *Pannick* almost and universal, has been in *London*, and elsewhere, occasioned by this Treatise; and it has with a forcible hand, by threats and awes, from thence to this day been either with-held from, or in, the Press, insomuch that thô actually conceived and come to the Birth, there wanted strength to bring forth; my purpose is not to make much Apology in its behalf, it comes abroad of Age, *natus cum barbâ*, as the *Jews* say of *Esau*; after a course of Studies upon full Thoughts, and a thorow Consideration (though hastened as thus digested by a Sermon I met with Preached by *John Tillotson* Doctor of Divinity and Dean of *Canterbury*) and is to speak for it self; and, if upon a due perusal,

the uſefulneſs and ſeaſonableneſs of the Subject matter, together with the integrity of the Collector (and which is here profeſſed) will not avouch it, what can, or why ſhould I ſay any more? I am content to fall, and ſhall ſubmit. I do not pretend to be the beſt Compoſer in the World, or above the reach of an *Ariſtarchus*, and ſo let the Hypercritical, and overnice pick a Quarrel with it if they pleaſe. I hope the beſt, and that, as in thoſe fears called *Pannick*, and where the Jealouſie and Paſſion is vehement and ſubitaneous; ſo here, the Grounds, on which ſome have already excepted againſt it, will appear rather aſſumed than real, an effect only of the Imaginative faculty, and which is many times diſmal, till by reaſon corrected.

'Tis that which St. *Jerome* urges and aggravates againſt *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, in his Epiſtle *ad Pammachium adverſus errores Johannis Hieroſolymitani*, that when accuſed of the Errors of *Origen* and *Arius*, and was expected to have Purged himſelf, he Preach'd only againſt the *Anthropomorphites*, a certain ſort of obſcure ignorant Monks, who out of a Ruſtick Simplicity, believed God to have the Parts and Members of a Man, accordingly as ſpoken ſometimes in Scripture, who

who influenced none, and periſhed within themſelves. I may here ſafely conclude my ſelf ſecure againſt ſuch an impertinency and indiſcretion; the Adverſary I now engage againſt, is neither ignorant nor obſcure, his repute for Knowledge is the ſame as his Conſpicuity; and that is, with *Abſolom* and his Fathers Concubines, on the Houſe top, in the ſight of all *Iſrael* and the Sun, has paſſed both Preſs and the Pulpit, and is now in each almoſt Gentleman's Parlour, and Tradeſmens Shop, and in the Mouths of all Men, and he were to be wiſhed to be leſs in our Divines Studies; And after thoſe hotter Controverſies, in theſe Weſtern Parts of the Chriſtian World, As whether Church-Power be originally lodged in the Perſon of the Biſhop of *Rome*? or, in all and each of the Biſhops of Chriſtendom? or, in each ſingle Presbyter? or, as the leſs conſiderable, in every Believer? 'tis now concluded to be purely Secular, men roundly, and making no Bones, run away with it, and no more than the Prince's Pleaſure is to be enquired after, nor are any Perſons or Functions to be accounted Sacred, in order to the things of Heaven, but by his Separation; or is there any viſible Power on this ſide Heaven, but by his collating.

Nor is the Subject trivial or inconsiderable, and without influence upon Mankind: 'tis that Christ Jesus had a Power, all Power in Heaven and Earth, once given him of the Father, for the bringing Souls to Heaven, this very Power first in him, after descended to his Apostles, and from them to their Succession, the Bishops and Pastors of the Church, and is to remain in and with them and their Persons, apart and separate from all other Power, Government and Jurisdiction, till the end cometh, and this Kingdom is delivered up to the Father, so long is it to be visible and in force, under what frowns and oppositions soever, thô the Kings of the Earth stand up, and the Rulers take Council against it. And this is all I here represent to the World, and which, not by any Publick Autority; God be thanked the case is not so with us, but by a set of Men has been thus opposed, and who seem to be somewhat, whatsoever they be: it matters not to me; I have always learn'd Obedience, but 'tis to them that are my Governors: but who are these? neither shall I give place by Subjection to them, no not an hour; so peculiar is my case, in an Age of Liberty, when the Statute for Printing is expired, and the Government has not thought fit to re-

enforce

enforce it, when every Sect and Party Scribbles and Publiſhes; and a Treatiſe purely and ſolely ſtating and defending our Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, is brow-beaten, and a total Suppreſſion, is to the utmoſt endeavoured.

I know they ſay 'tis not the ſubject in general, but my Animadverſions upon the two Deans, Doctor *Stillingfleet* and Doctor *Tillotſon*, they ſet themſelves and contend againſt; and pray how does this mend the matter? or is not theſe Mens Zeal for the Church of *England* bulky and active to the purpoſe, when its iſſue is this, that the Names and Writings of two particular Men, and which muſt be in ſo much leſs eſteem, and as falſe, as they diſcountenance, and are againſt our Church, and whoſe Tenents, ſo far as here impleaded, they dare not openly Plead for muſt be untoucht and uncanvaſſed, or elſe the ſtate of the Church not medled with, its Power and Autority be diminiſh'd and expoſed by others, by who ſo pleaſes, and no Man defend it; it is not to be duly and fairly repreſented to the World, for their Information or Inſtruction, unleſs there be an exempt and indemnity to ſuch thoſe two, to thwart and oppoſe it as they ſhall think fit, or give themſelves advantages there-

by from their Party, and such their Authorities stand unquestioned, as in Capital Letters, to affront and confute all so soon as Published? the Proposal must be both ridiculous and unreasonable at once; or how can any man undertake, (to make but this one instance at present) to vindicate our Church from Erastianism, and that her Reformation did not enstate all Church-Power, even in *Edward* VI. and when but a Child (and which I remember is objected by *Parsons* the Jesuit in his Three Conversions of *England*, and we are risked sufficiently for it, nor without cause, if true) without rejecting Doctor *Stillingfleet's* MSS. and which tells us, that both State and Church met at *Windsor* in his days, and determined it otherwise, and that the original and full Power of the Priesthood was in him the Prince, as now abiding upon Earth, next under Christ?

But how is it that I have really dealt with these two Doctors? being engaged in a Treatise, the result of the course of my Studies, I met, among several others, them my Adversaries; as I did those others, so also I detected their Errors, refuted their Reasons, repelled their Arguments, and voided their Autorities in that particular, as well as I could; and is not this

this what every Body does under these like Circumstances? or did ever any Man engage upon a Subject, and not take notice of the known and obvious opposers and thwarters of him? surely never: and I have this to say for my self, that I have never made one reflexion upon either of them, but where my subject directly engaged me to it; nor is there any thing that is Personal and Foreign that I have meddled withal. As for their Eminency in the Church, and Controversies that are of high concern among us, and which they have discharged with a general applause, I have not, any ways, endeavoured an abatement of their Merit, but this was so far from being an Argument, or but Motive to me, that I was not to encounter them on this Subject, that it mostly prevailed with me to do it; doth the King of *Israel* go out as against a Flea? nor do those of meaner Order and Quality undertake that Autority which is in it self none, falls of it self to the ground, nor was ever influential upon any? and had I had no sense of the mischief in points of so great concern that must necessarily accrue to the Church of God, under such their Autorities in future ages especially, I had wholly passed them by, untouched and unenvassed,

as

as the Combination expected and required.

What is farther urged, that we are not to create differences among our ſelves, and that we have Enemies enough abroad, is moſt true; but that which makes our Enemies abroad, is that we do not unanimouſly aſſert and vindicate the one Faith and Truth, that we countenance thoſe among our ſelves which violate it; where diviſions already made, and other Doctrines brought in, this is the rule of St. *Paul*, *Mark ſuch*, and his Practice is the ſame upon the Rule; and *James*, and *Cephas* and *John*, who ſeemed to be ſomewhat, and Pillars were withſtood to the face by him; and the ſame Practice is every where in the Chriſtian Church apparent.

I'le only add this one thing more, Whatever my firſt Error was, in deſigning this my Collection for the Preſs, without their Approbation, and it appears they thought it my Duty to do otherwiſe; they had my Copy a full quarter of a year in their hands, and I am informed did Tranſcribe what ſeemed for their advantage, but never had I any notice any ways of my great miſtake, that it might be Corrected, or not Printed; and whether what I have anſwered be of force

that

that I burn my Papers, I durſt appeal to an eaſie Conſideration: or why did not the two Deans themſelves, inform me better, when I addreſſed my ſelf to each of them in a diſtinct Letter, and begg'd the favour that I might know what my fault was, and which the Injury that I had done? I have been credibly told that they ſaid my ſtyle was rough and haughty, and therefore they would not anſwer; I confeſs I did not conſider them in their ſtalls, and where I always pay that regard the Secular Power requires, and which alone places them there, but as ſtating to them a Point of Divinity, or which is more a Caſe of Conſcience, where Truth only is to be reſpected, and with a thorow Severity, and any thing but like a Complement is not to have place. But whatever my Letter was, and however they ſcorn to anſwer it, I am not aſhamed here to Print it, in the very words I ſent it to each of them apart, only the Site of their Names is changed as was the particular Addreſs.

Reverend Sir,

I *Am very well aſſured that you are not Ignorant (nor indeed can you be) of ſome Papers of mine that have been*

in

in ſo many Mens hands and more Months in London *ſince the beginning of laſt Winter, and deſign'd for the Preſs, as alſo of the Reaſons why they are not yet Printed;* viz. *Some Reflexions upon your Self and the Dean of St.* Paul's; *I am mightily ſatisfied with mine own Integrity in that Deſign and Action; and beſides it was never yet objected by any of thoſe worthy Perſons who have read the Diſcourſe, that the Cauſe was not uſeful and ſeaſonable, or that I had betray'd it in general, or any one ways injur'd you in any one relation, and yet it is you two that are Pleaded as the very occaſion that they remain ſtill in the* MSS. *I do therefore once more deal with you plainly and ſincerely, (tho' with a due regard to your accidental Dignities, and in which you are my Superiors), as a Chriſtian Brother and fellow Presbyter, and whoſe Conſcientious Zeal for the Cauſe of God's Church Catholick, and this its particular live Member here in* England, *may be ſuppoſed as much and as duly bottomed as another Mans, or Member of it, and thus with all Humility addreſs my ſelf unto you: Either I have done you Injury, or I have not: if I have, condeſcend but in Charity to give me the particulars and you will oblige me in abundance. I'le be ſo bold to ſay, you never obliged any man more,*

more, and my Acknowledgment and Submiſſion ſhall be equally real and hearty: if I have not, and all is ſaid of you be true, i. e. *your own Words and Senſe; you to this day own and aſſent to it, or you do not: if you do, what Injury can I now have done you in Publiſhing your own Words and Senſe? if you do not, you ought to have ſatisfied the Church of God by a Recantation as Publick as your Error, Scandal and Offence, the alone way to prevent ſuch Reflexions from thoſe with whom you converſe only in your Writings; nor can any man otherwiſe be blame-worthy that makes them; Be pleaſed to conſider, you have not erred in the* Leniora Evangelii, *and the Point is, Whether God has a Church on Earth, with its peculiar appropriated Power or not; and the Laws of God, his Church, and all Chriſtian Kingdoms require of you at once its Acknowledgment.*

You are not Ignorant what Pleas are made for Errors againſt the Church, and of the Dammages accrew to her, by haling in particular Doctors, if but leaning that way and ſeeming ſuch, as their Abettors and Avouchers, and this by how much greater ſuch Doctors are of, or are eſteemed, in ſuch the Church: and then what aſtoniſhment muſt it be to good minded Men,

Men, what even Epicuriſm to Evil, that do now, or ſhall hereafter read or hear the great and received Names of Tillotſon *and* Stillingfleet, *theſe following Poſitions,* That *all Church-Power as from Chriſt has ceaſed with Miracles, and is to be accounted ſo to have done.* That *Chriſt Jeſus is not to be Preached if the Magiſtrate and Law forbid it.* That *to pretend a Power to Preach as from Chriſt, and not to go into* Spain *or* Turky, *and there Preach, is groſs Hypocriſie.* That *'twas the Senſe of Biſhop* Cranmer, *&c. and the Bottom and Principle on which he and the other Biſhops proceeded on in the Reformation, and was after made Law in the Kingdom.* That *the King has a Power to Ordain Biſhops, to Baptize, to Excommunicate, and do all Paſtoral Offices in his own Perſon, or devolve it on others, and this is not only from a miſtaken* MSS. *but by unfaithful Copying it out, and repreſenting it to the World, and, which brings more guilt, occaſioning it to be Printed thus Imperfect among the Records of the Church in Doctor* Burnet's *Church Hiſtory, and abuſing the Houſe of Commons to a Publick Approbation of it, giving to the Church of* Rome, *what their Emiſſaries have all along been ſtill gibing us with, and fathering upon us, but till by you, repelled with*

with Scorn. That it hath been the continued Judgment of our ſucceeding Biſhops ever ſince. That a Biſhop's Power is not ſolitary and apart from that of a Preſbyter, with many more of the like Nature.

And for the ſevering theſe your private Opinions and particular Errors from the Doctrines of the Church of God, and reſcuing her from the great Scandal of them, ſhe muſt, or may undergo; I have engaged in that ſo laborious a Work, began at our Saviour and his Apoſtles, deſcended by the Biſhops, Doctors and Fathers of the Church Catholick, the Church Hiſtorians, Councils, and Laws Imperial, our own particular Church Canons, Rubricks, Book of Ordination, our own Doctors and Writers in their times, the Injunctions and Declarations of our Princes, the Statute-Book of our Kingdom, all which come in as one Evidence againſt them, you have ſtill time to do it and right your ſelves, and ſatisfie the Church of God in your own Perſons, removing the reproach occaſioned by you, in an acknowledgment of the Error, for my Book is not yet in the Preſs, and which if you'l engage to do, I do here indent back again, to expunge whatever concerns or but mentions you in it. If not, I muſt do you and the Church of God right,

and

and will; but if upon this fair and Chriſtian notice you ſhall not think meet to retract theſe your Aſſertions, that I have animadverted upon, yet I ſhall acquit my ſelf to the World, that I have done what my Conſcience and ſenſe of Duty, and Obligation ariſing from my Profeſſion has engaged me to. I cannot think a concern for the Honour and Reputation of one or two Perſons, though ſeeming to be ſomewhat, and Pillars, ought to be eſteem'd as that of the whole Church of God, or that I ought to put their private concerns into the bottom with it. I am Sir,

Your humble Servant

May 1. 1683.

Simon Lowth.

THE

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CHAP. I.

CHurch Power is not in the People, either as a Body in General, or as one Single Congregation. Sect. 1.

This Power muſt firſt evidence it ſelf to be given from God e're executed on, or derived to others: Holineſs in its Nature does not infer it.

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The Votes of the People give no Power, but yet are neceſſary becauſe none is given without them, both the People and Paſtors are Chriſt's Vicars in the Caſe. So *Beza, Blondel.* Sect. 6.

Our Saviour's Practice and the Apoſtles are againſt them. Sect. 7, 8.

That the People were not always at Elections, Blondel *allows. He is contrary to himſelf. Their Votes never reputed neceſſary; and at laſt excluded quite, by reaſon of the Riots and Diſorders in them.* Sect. 9.

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ter under the Biſhop; but neither in Subordination to the People. Sect. 10.

And this they do in point of Epiſcopacy alſo: And we muſt have no Biſhops in England, *becauſe they have none in* France, *and which is promoted by the advantage of the Rebellion and Schiſm among us.* Blondel *offer'd his Service before to the Biſhops of* England; *but then he Prints his* Apologia pro Hieronymo, *Dedicates it to the Rump Parliament, and Aſſembly-Men, Is nauſeous in his Flatteries of both. Commends the* Scotch *Covenant. Is rude upon Biſhops, Soliciting their Ruine. This the Senſe of the Divines on that ſide the Sea.* Salmaſius *raves juſt ſo. The Independents murder'd the King. The Biſhops not the Authors of all Hereſies, as blackmouth'd* Baxter, Andrew Rivet, *and ſo does* Dailee. Ignatius *ſuffers for it. He and* Marcian *and* Valentinius *compared. Their few Complements does not acquit them. We only loſe by our Charity towards them. The diſadvantage thereby from our own Members. The late Replyer upon Biſhop* Pearſon *and Doctor* Beveridge *is the ſame. The late Letters from* Paris, Sect. 11.

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CHAP. II.

THis *Power is not in the Prince. The Child Jeſus is Anointed Lord and Chriſt, with all Power given him in order to Heaven, to continue in the Goſpel-Prieſthood to the end of the World.* Sect. 1.

Theſe two Powers have, and may reſide again in the ſame Perſon, are both for the general good of Man. Emperors how call'd, Apli. Epi. Sect. 2.

Their particular Power neceſſarily infer not one another: The Prieſt as ſuch, is no more a King, than the King as ſuch, is a Prieſt, than a good Man is always knowing, or the Deſpotical and Regal Power go together. The mixing theſe ſeveral diſtinct Gifts and Powers, is the inlet to all diſorder. The King and Prieſt have been brought to a Morſel of Bread by it. Sect. 3.

Kings have no Plea to the Prieſthood by their Unction, the Jewiſh *Cuſtom and Government no example to us; if ſo, the conſequent would be ill in our Government. Our Kings derive no one Right from their being Anointed.* Blondel's *Account of this Unction. The Error and Flattery of ſome* Greeks *herein.* Sect. 4.

The Church how in the Common-wealth, and the Common-wealth how in the Church? and both independent and ſelf-exiſtent. Sect. 5.

The Church founded only, and ſubſiſting in and by Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Sect. 6.

Proved from Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, Juſtin Martyr, Athenagoras, Minutius Fœlix. *Sect.* 7.

A diſtinct Power is in the Church all along in Euſebius, *Eccl. Hiſt.* Socrates, *&c. Oppoſed to the* κοσμικὴ ἀρχὴ, *or the Power of the Prince ſo called all along in thoſe Writings.* Sect. 8.

This was not from the preſent Neceſſity, when the Empire was Heathen, if ſo the Chriſtians had underſtood and declared it. The Apoſtles, God himſelf, had forewarn'd and preinformed the World of it. It continued the ſame when Chriſtian, only with more advantages by the Princes Countenance and Protection. Sect. 9, 10.

In Athanaſius, Hoſius, *St.* Jerome, Auſtin, Optatus, Chryſoſtom, Ambroſe. *Sect.* 11.

In Euſebius *Hiſtory from* Conſtantine, *and other Hiſtorians downward, the Emperor and Biſhop have alike their diſtinct Throne and Succeſſion independent, as plain as words and ſtory can report it.* Sect. 12.

And the ſame do the Ancient Councils all along; ſeparating themſelves from κοσμικα δικαστηρια, *the* ἐξωθεν ἐξουσιας. Sect. 13.

This is not the Senſe of the Biſhops only in their own behalf; and which is the Atheiſtical popular Plea and Objection, the Cruelty of the French *Reformers.* Sect. 14.

The Emperors own and ſubmit unto it, as Conſtantine, *though miſunderſtood by* Blondel, Valentinianus, Juſtinian, Theodoſius, Leo, *&c.* Sect. 15, 16.

Blondel *owns all this, and yet does not underſtand it.* Sect. 17.

All this farther appears from the Laws and Proceedings of the Empire and the Church; as in the two Codes, Novels and Conſtitutions, from our Church Hiſtories. Photius Nomocanon. Sect. 18.

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The Chriſtian Emperors never Excommunicated in their own Perſons, or by their own Power. Mr. Selden *ſays they did. His Forgeries detected. His ridiculous account of Holy Orders from* Gamaliel. *He was a Rebel of* 1642. *Deſign'd a Cheat on the Crown, when annexing to it the Prieſthood.* Sect. 23.

What the Empire made Law relating to Religion, was firſt Canon, or conſented to by the Clergy. Nothing the Empires alone but the Penalty. So Honorius *and* Theodoſius, Valentinian *and* Marcian, Zeno *and* Leo. *Sect.* 24, 25.

No need of preſent Miracles to Juſtifie this Power; to Aſſert it does not affront Magiſtrates. 'Tis always to be own'd before them, Dr. Tillotſon's *Sermon on this bottom,* Arianiſm *was of old oppoſed againſt* Conſtantius; *That this Power ceaſed when the*

the Empire became Chriſtian, is a tattle. It receiv'd many Advantages, but no one Diminution thereby, Sect 26.

CHAP. III.

CHurch-Power is a Specifick, conſtituted by Chriſt, in order to a Succeſſion; the erecting a new and laſting Government upon Earth; a Community of divers Orders, Offices, Acts, Stations, every ways peculiar, the Body of Chriſt, Sect. 1.

A Government to Rule, and defend it ſelf, and Independent, Sect. 2.

The main Objection, that it is againſt the Civil Power. Common Senſe and Experience confutes it. The more a Chriſtian the better Subject. The Chriſtians ſupported Conſtantine's *Crown.* Sect. 3, 4.

They did not want Power to do otherwiſe; nor conſequently Integrity, as is objected, Sect. 5.

To ſay they were Fools, is more plauſible to the Age, but then the Empire muſt be ſo too; who were equally ignorant of theſe deſtructive Conſequences to their Government, Sect. 6.

The reaſon of the preſent Miſunderſtandings, and that we do not ſee as the Ancients did; becauſe no Government own'd but that which is Temporal and outwardly Coercive, Sect. 7.

So 'twas ſtated by an Anonymous Author, 1641. *All Power and Puniſhment was outward and bodily among the* Jews, *and ſo it muſt be among Chriſtians,* Sect. 8.

So Mr. Selden, *allowing no Punishments but what are outwardly Coercive, because none other; as not under, so nor before the Law*, Sect. 9.

Erastus *went the same way before him*, Sect. 10.

And Salmasius, *and says, the Apostles had no Power, because without Whips and Axes; Concludes against all Church-Power upon these terms, and that he may surely take it from Bishops. So does a French Reformer usually lose his Senses, when running his Forehead against our Prelacy*, Sect. 11.

Grotius *is in this Error, but oft corrects himself. His Inconstancy is to be lamented; He imputes it to his Education. He fights with the very same Weapon against Church-Power in general, the Jesuite does against the Supremacy in the Church of* England, *Sect.* 12.

CHAP. IV.

THe Objections answer'd. Selden's *Error, that there are to be no other Punishments by Christ, than was before and under the Law; the Query is to be what Christ did actually constitute; He mixes the Temporal Actions of the Apostles, and those design'd for Perpetuity.* Adam *and* Cain *might have more than a Temporal Punishment*, Sect. 1.

The great Disparity betwixt the Jewish and Christian State considered, no Inferences to be drawn from the one to the other, but what is on our side, Sect. 2.

Their

Theirs is the Letter, ours the Spirit; They Punish'd by Bodily Death, we by Spiritual, Sect. 3.

If Government was judged so absolutely necessary by the dispersed Jews, *that they then framed one of their own for the present Necessity, and whose Wisdom in so doing, Mr.* Selden *so much admires, it must blemish our Saviour much to say he purposely call'd together a Church and design'd it none of its own, to preserve it*, Sect. 4.

The Jews *Excommunication, was not bodily Coercive, and then there may be such a Punishment, an Obligation to Obedience, without force, and that is not outward; and this much more in the Christian Society*, Sect. 5.

And this their Government abstracted from the Civil Magistrate, is an Essay of Christ's Government; so far of the same Nature, to come into the World, Sect. 6.

The Christian Church might be both from Cæsar *and Christ, as was the Jewish, from God and* Cæsar, *and there is no thwarting. The Jews and Christians distinct*, Sect. 7.

In answer to his main Objection, That all Government must be of this World, Sect. 8. *It is replied,*

To assert Christ to have such a Kingdom, is to thwart his design of coming into the World, the whole course of his Actions and Government; and those Ancients that expected him to come and Rule with them on Earth; yet did not believe it to be accomplished, till after the Resurrection, Sect. 9.

To say he therefore has no Power at all, is as wide of Truth, the way of Men in Error, to

turn

run from one extreme to another, and of Mr. Selden *here*, Sect. 10.

The Church is a Body of a differing Nature from others, Sect. 11.

With differing Organs and Members of its own, in Subordination to one another, Sect. 12.

With different Offices and Duties, Gifts and Endowments; these either Common to all Believers, or limited to particular Persons, Sect. 13.

As Christians in common, they had one Faith, into which Baptized, and of which Confession was made; the Apostles Creed, and other Summaries of Faith and sound Doctrine. Interrogatories in Baptism. How Infants perform it, Sect. 14.

They had one and the same Laws and Rules for Obedience for which they Covenanted, which is their Baptismal Vow, the Abrenunciation of the World, the Flesh and Devil, Sect. 15.

One Common Worship and Service, and Religious Performance to God, in their Assemblies, the particular Offices and Duties there, the Priest and People officiate interchangeably; as in Tertullian, Justin Martyr, *&c.* Sect. 16.

Common Duties and Services as to God, so to one another; in supplying one anothers Necessities as occasion, Sect. 17.

In the supply of such as attended at the Altar, by a Common Purse deposited in the hands of the Bishop, Sect. 18.

Of the Poor and Indigent, whose Treasurer was the Bishop, Sect. 19.

The Power, Offices, and Duties not promiscuous, but limited to particular Persons, are those of the Ministry, distributed into the three standing

ſtanding Orders of Biſhop, Preſbyter, and Deacon, and which make up that κλῆρος τῆς ἱερωσύνης, *that Goſpel Prieſthood to remain to the Reſtitution*, Sect. 20.

This Power and Juriſdiction, though limited to and reſiding in theſe three, yet it is not in each of them alike, in the ſame degree, force, and virtue; the Deacon is loweſt, the Preſbyter next; the Biſhop, the full Orders and Uppermoſt, Supreme and including all, Sect. 21.

Againſt this Primacy of Biſhops, that of Metropolitans, Exarchy, Patriarchy, and the Supremacy of Rome *is objected*, Sect. 22.

The Metropolitan, &c. is in ſome Caſes above the Biſhop, but not in the Power of the Prieſthood; 'tis the ſame Power enlarged. No new Ordination in Order to it, Sect. 23.

The Univerſal Primacy of the Biſhop of Rome *is but Pretended, not bottom'd on either the Scriptures, or Fathers, or Councils*, Sect. 24. 25, 26.

The Biſhops Superiority, or full Orders and Power in the Church is reaſſumed, and farther aſſerted. He with his Preſbyter or Deacon, or ſome one of them are to be in every Congregation; for the Preſbyter or Deacon or both to aſſemble the People and Officiate, and not under him, is Schiſm. The ſeveral inſtances of this Power of the Prieſthood, Sect. 27.

To Preſide in the Aſſemblies, Pray, give Thanks for, Teach and Govern there. No Extempore *Prayers in thoſe Aſſemblies*, Sect. 28.

To Adminiſter the Sacraments, the Conſecration of the Lords Supper, by Prayer and Thanksgiving and Attreſtation of the Elements.

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Baptism by Lay-Persons. Rebaptizations on what terms in the Ancient Church Confirmation, Sect. 29.

To Unite and Determine in Council. The use of Councils and Obligation. Their Autority Declarative, Autoritative, Sect. 30.

To impose Discipline, the several instances and degrees of it, in the Ancient Church. Indulgencies and Abatements, Sect. 31.

To Excommunicate or cast out of the Church, a Power without which the Church as a Body cannot subsist; a natural Consequent to Baptism, Priests not excommunicated, but deposed, Sect. 32.

To Absolve, and Re-admit into the Church, this the design of Excommunication, which is only a shutting out for a time, in order to Mercy, on whom to be inflicted. Its certain force in the Execution, Sect. 33.

To depute others in the Ministry by Ordination; the Necessity of it. An instance in St. John *out of* Eusebius, *St.* Clemens Romanus, Calvin *and* Bezae's *Opinion and Practice. Its ill Consequences. Only, those of the Priesthood can give this Power to others*, Sect. 34.

The Objection answered, and 'tis plain the Church is an Incorporation, with Laws, Rewards and Penalties of its own, not of this World, nor opposing its Government, Sect. 35.

The outward stroke is reserved to the Day of Judgment, but the Obligation is present. If the Church hat no Power nor Obligation, because not that present Power to Punish, or any like it; neither has any Law in the Gospel. Mr. Hobbs *the more honest Man, says neither the Ecclesiastical, or Evangelical Law obliges. His and their Principles infer it*, Sect. 36.

The

The Power of Christ and his Church cannot clash with the Civil Power, because no outward Process till the Day of Judgment, and then civil outward Dominion is to cease in its course; the present Union and Power to be sure cannot: this is clear from the several instances of it, already reckon'd up, Sect. 37.

Their Faith is an inward act of the Soul, acquitted by Mr. Hobbes; *and that which is more open, Confession, obliges, if opposed, but to dye, and be Martyrs,* Sect. 38.

That they Covenant against Sin, makes them but the better Subjects, Sect. 39.

No Man that says his Prayers duly can be a Rebel; because first of all to own his Prince and Pray for him. The first Christians Innocency defended them, when impleaded for Assembling without leave. If this did not do, they suffer'd. Their Christianity did not exempt them from inspection, Sect. 40.

Charity, not obstructive to Government, when on due Objects; a common Purse without leave, dangerous, not generally to be allow'd. These Christians innocency indemnified them. The Divine Right of Titles how asserted. Nothing can justifie those Practices, but their real Case. The Profession of Christianity must otherwise cease, Sect. 41, 42.

Presiding in the Church, rises no higher than the Duties exercised. 'Tis Dr. Tillotson *alone ever said,---*To Preach Christ, is to Affront Princes; *If the Jesuit do, let him look to it. Christianity is not in fault. An entring into, or renewing the Covenant, at the Font or Altar, is no Encroachment on the but Justice of Peace in the Neighborhood,* Sect. 43.

Excom-

Excommunication and other Censures change no Mans Condition as to this World; they have no force, but in relation to known Duties. Prudence is to rule in the Execution, particular regard to be had to Princes. Whatever is Coercive annexed, is from the Prince. Lay-Judges, Chancellors, &c. when first granted by the Empire upon the Bishops Petition. The same is Absolution, neither innovate in Civil Affairs, Sect. 44.

Conciliary Acts, invade no more than does the Gospel it self. That Canons have had the precedency of the Law, is by the favour of Princes; a Council without local meeting. Letters Missive, Sect. 45.

Ordaining others, no more prejudicial to the Crown than the former acts. This is Mr. Hobbe's *Misapprehension,* Sect. 46.

CHAP. V.

THe grand Objection out of Mr. Hobbes, *If these two Powers command the same Person at the same time inconsistent Performances; it arises from that false Principle, that all Power is outward,* Sect. 1.

This infers equally against the Laws of God, and which may and do sometimes thus interfere, are as difficultly reconcileable with the State Acts. No Church Laws oblige against Natural Duty. The Laws of Religion considered at large, in order to a clearer Solution, Sect. 2.

Mr. Hobbe's *Rule will Answer all; Consider what is, and what is not necessary to Eternal Salvation*, Sect. 3.

The same is the Rule of the Ancient Fathers, Sect. 4.

If Mr. Hobbes *his Faith and Obedience be all that is Necessary, 'tis then easily determined; because to obey only the Soveraign*, Sect. 5.

Dr. Tillotson *his Sermon of Love and Peace to his* Yorkshire *Countreymen, not to be Vindicated from being herein of* Hobbe's *Judgment, in what he Dissents from him. No Church-Power, since Miracles, ceased; according to Mr.* Dean, *Sect.* 6.

The Gospel calls for Confession and Obedience, in Opposition to, though not in Contempt of, Princes; to the hazard of all. So the best Christians, the worst of Hereticks; only Simon Magus, Basilides, *&c. did otherwise*, Sect. 7.

For a full Answer, the Laws of Religion are to be ranked under Three general Heads; They are Arbitrary and Humane, Arbitrary and Divine, Necessary and Divine, Sect. 8.

Laws Arbitrary and Humane, though never losing their Sanction; yet cease in some Cases in the Execution. As when the Empire gave Indulgencies beside the Canon, Sect. 9.

The Civil Injunction does not immediately oblige the Christian in these Cases. The Church has her own Power, never to be yielded up; Ceremonies not the main thing, Sect. 10.

Not to be changed with our Clothes. That Worship which is best not to be foregone; only to yield to what is always Necessary. The Case of the Asiaticks *about Easter*, Sect. 11.

Especially in our Church of England, *Sect.* 12.

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Least of all are our Mutinies and Factions, our even weakness, a Ground for Change, Sect. 13.

Laws Arbitrary and Divine, cease in some instances, as to Practice; the Advantage of Afflictions. A good Christian always a good Subject; the Empire still gave Rules and Limits in the Exercise of these Positive Duties, Sect. 14.

To submit and cease as to particular Practice, upon the lawful Command of the Magistrate, is not, the Case in Doctor Tillotson's *Sermon, to give up the Institution to him. If commanding a false Worship I am to withstand him. 'Tis no Hypocrisie, though I go not into immediately, and there Preach the same in* Spain. *Mr.* Dean's *unheard of Notion of Hypocrisie, in what Case the Magistrate is serviceable, to promote the Faith*, Sect. 15.

The last sort of Laws, both Necessary and Divine, are never to cease in any one Instance; or under what Circumstances soever; either as to their Right or Practice. I am never to do any one Immorality, always to own and profess the Cross of my Saviour, Sect. 16.

The great Goodness of God in giving such a Subordination of Duties, that the end of each may be answer'd; in enjoyning nothing absolutely necessary to Heaven but what is in our Power; that no Contingencies of this World can take from us our Eternity; a Reward we can never miss of without our own Faults, Sect. 17.

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CHAP. VI.

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Mr. Selden *objects again*, *that our own Doctors and Writers are all on the other side. The particular*

particular Authors each reckon'd up. He perverts and abuſes them all, Sect. 20.

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Stephen *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, Orat. de vera Obedientia, *is of the ſame Mind, and ſo is* Richard Sampſon, *Dean of the Chappel to* Henry VIII. *in an Oration to this purpoſe.* Sect. 22.

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Mr. Selden *is ſhameleſs in quoting Biſhop* Andrews, *who determines all along againſt him. Thoſe Laws that Proteſt the Church, muſt in courſe inſpect their Actions. The Biſhop diſwaded* Grotius *from Printing his Book* De Imperio ſummarum Poteſtatum in Sacris. Ha' y' any Work for a Cooper, *is indeed of Mr.* Selden's *ſide, and the Lord* Falkland. *His very ill Speech in the Houſe of Commons*, 1641. *His* Pulpit Law, *and Deriſion of the Divine Right of Kings, as well as of the Church. He, and ſuch like Speech-makers, Promoters of the late Rebellion, affronts both to King and Prieſt deſign'd at once, when the Crown is entitled to the Prieſthood*, Sect. 24.

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Particular Doctors, not the Rule in Religion, The ſeveral ways by which Error comes into the World.

World. Julian's *Plot to deſtroy Chriſtianity.* *How* Pelagius *managed his Hereſie, by Rich and Potent Women, by feigned Autorities of great Men.* Liberius *of* Rome *and* Hoſius, *comply with Arianiſm wearied with Perſecutions.* Theodoſius *his* Doctores Probabiles, *Cod.* 16. *Theodoſ. Tit.* 1. *l. l.* 2, 3.

A Catalogue of ſome Books Printed for Benj. Tooke *at the Ship in St.* Paul's Church-Yard.

Folio.

Herodoti Halicarnaſſei Hiſtoriarum Libri ix. Gr. Lat.
Suarez de Legibus ac Deo Legiſlatore.
Biſhop *Bramhall's* Works.
Walſh's Hiſtory of the *Iriſh* Remonſtrance.
A Collection of all the Statutes of *Ireland.*
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Baker's Chronicle of *England* with the Continuation.
Judge *Winche's* Book of Entries.
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Quarto.

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Wetenhall of the Gifts and Offices in the Worſhip of God.
——Catechiſm.
Langhornii Chronicon Regum Anglorum.
The French Gardiner.
The Country Parſon's Advice.
Boyle's *Noctiluca.*
Dodwell's two Diſcourſes againſt the Romaniſts, 12°.
Æſopi Fabulæ, Gr. & Lat. 12°.

The

The Author's distance from the Press has occasioned some Errors in the Printing, especially in the Pointing; which the Reader is desired to correct, and the following *Errata*.

ERRATA.

PAg. 10. συνκαλυψαμενων for συνκαλυψαμενου, p. 21. πεγχιζιειδς for --ειζειδς, p. 83. l. 22. συνεξεταξων for συνεξεταζων, p. 109. ὑπαναγγελδς for --γυγελδς, p. 191. ἐξολοθδιευ, for --θρδευ, p. 262. τειλδιων for τελδιων, ibid. πεγφαιτις for --φαυις, p. 267. ἱππαμένης for ἱππάμενης, p. 268. ἀλλάμενος for ἀγάμενος, p. 277. ἀρχαιβιαλος for ἀρχαιβαλος, p. 288. ἐκκλυσιαςικῶ for ἐκκλησιαςικῶ, ibid. καυσυ for καυσος, p. 304. ευχαϊ for ευχαὶς. p. 378. νομη for νδμῳ. [pag. 43. *in* for *ni*, p. 163. *ausa* for *ausus*, put out *non* ibid. p. 181. line last, [*Tit.* 45.] *deest*, p. 253. *conferisse* for *comperisse*, *his* for *hi*, ibid. p. 258. *Amybeyms* for *Amybeums*, p. 478. *Dominum* for *Danielcam*, p. 500. *Christiani* for *Christi.*] pag. 28. [*une quarte*] to be put out, p. 81. l. 12. *Assent* for *assert*, p. 187. l. ult. put out, [*but to Princes something is more due then at other times,*] p. 190. l. 8. put out [*which*] p. 231. l. 11. *belief* for *unbelief*, p. 287. l. 18. *Episcopale* for *Episcopate*, p. 380. l. 23. *decided* for *derided*, p. 396. l. 6. *so* for *to*, p. 440. l. 12. *inroding the* [*Errors*] for *inroding the* [*crown*] p. 350. l. 18. *titles* for *tithes.*

OF THE SUBJECT OF Church Power

In whom it Reſides.

Its *Force*, *Extent*, and *Execution*; that it Oppoſes not *Civil Government* in any one Inſtance of it.

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WHEN I firſt conſider'd that of *Thomas Hobbes* in his *Leviathan*, *Part* 1. *Cap.* 12. *Of Religion*, and which is in §. 1

 ſhort

ſhort to this purpoſe in ſeveral Paragraphs there, That every one is free upon the ceaſing, or diſcontinuance of the Miracle, to Superſede or Change his Religion, once atteſted by that Miracle to be from God, and upon which account it was receiv'd and own'd, if the change of the Climate and his Governors, his former Education, and the preſent Cuſtom of the Place he reſides in, requires; and all that other Authority and Obligation from Heaven, obliged only for that preſent inſtant in which the Miracle was wrought and evidenced; I with leſs concern paſſed it by, reflecting on the Perſon, a Man affected with, and deſigning Novelty and Singularity, filled with a Conceit of his own worth and autority, and oppoſing it to all the World beſide. And in particular in this Chapter, declaring himſelf to be ſuch an one that believes *an extraordinary felicity* a ſufficient Teſtimony *of a Divine Calling:* but going on in my Thoughts, and finding by a ſad Experience that it went further than the Scheme or Syſteme, that a great part of our Age is thereby brought into this Opinion; and 'tis contended for, ſo frequently, as their Faith, that the Church is nothing at all; but in the State, its Powers and Offices, though once in the Apoſtles, and ſome of their Succeſſors, for ſome time, is now gone with thoſe Miracles, that at that time abetted and avouched them; nor is the Goſpel it ſelf to be Preached, or divulged upon other terms, or a fixed, enjoyned, falſe Religion oppoſed; nay farther, this very ſame to be the ſtated profeſſed Opinions of ſome, and thoſe too, our

our higheſt dignified Church-men, and left upon Record, as the judgment of the greateſt part, and ſome of them the moſt remarkable, of our firſt Reformers, that the Prince is inveſted with whatever belongs to a Churchman; then was my heart hot within me, and while I was thus muſing, the fire kindled, and at the laſt I ſpake with my Tongue, I then ſet my ſelf upon a particular immediate enquiry into the Matter, and attaining to a more perfect knowledge of that way, I here repreſent it to my Fathers and Brethren of the Clergy, to all good Chriſtians whatever, in this following Treatiſe, and only ſtate the plain caſe as I find delivered down from our Saviour by his Apoſtles, the Biſhops, Fathers and Doctors of the Church Catholique, the Church Hiſtorians, Councils and Laws Imperial, from our own particular Church Articles, Canons, Rubricks, our Book of Ordination, and Homilies appointed to be read in the Churches in the time of Q. *Elizabeth*, from our own Doctors and Writers in Divinity, in their ſeveral times, and from the Injunctions and Declarations of our Princes, and even the Common-Law and Statute Book of our Kingdom, the Honor and Duty I owe to my Jeſus, to his Univerſal Church, to this particular Church of *England*, to my own Profeſſion as a Divine, and love to all Chriſtians, is what have engaged to it; other advantages I have none, nor are any propoſed; theſe Conſiderations alone are they which now makes the dumb Child ſpeak, looſes the ſtring of that Tongue that held its peace and ſaid nothing, and brings him into publick; other-

wiſe, by an univerſal Concurrency of all things, both Perſons and Objects deſign'd for ſilence and obſcurity.

§. II. NOW in order to this, I have ſo much prepared and made ready to my hands, that the thing in general is immediately denied by none, and that there is a Church-Power to be alwayes upon Earth, till the reſtitution of all things, and the Heavens be no more; that is, certain peculiar Perſons and Offices to be ſeparated and diſcharged in and for the affairs of Souls, and the guiding and governing the World in order to Heaven and Salvation, is affirmed by all that believe a Heaven and Chriſt Jeſus the Way, the Truth, and the Life in the Attainment. That which has ſo much unhing'd and diſcompos'd the World of late is, concerning the Subject in which it reſides; the particular Perſons deſign'd and appointed by our Saviour for the conveyance and execution, the due force, juſt extent and conſequences of it, in whom this Power is to be found, and to whom limited, ſince none are extraordinarily by miraculous and ſenſible demonſtrations from Heaven commiſſioned and marked out thereunto; as the Apoſtles and firſt Publiſhers of the Goſpel were. And though Mr. *Selden* himſelf, as our great *Herbert Thorndike*, in his *Principles of Chriſtian Truth*, tells us, uſually ſaid in his common Diſcourſe, *That all Church Power is an Impoſture*; yet his Firſt Book *De Synedriis*, deſigned and levelled againſt this Autority. Upon this alone ſcore, becauſe preſumed in, and limited to the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church, as the Succeſſors of Chriſt and his Apoſtles,

Apoſtles, makes it plain, his quarrel is becauſe ſo aſſumed and limited by them, becauſe transferr'd from the Prince or Civil Power, in whoſe hands alone he believes it placed, and in thoſe in deputation by him; and for which he contends all along in that Book (with what Succeſs may be ſeen hereafter) and therein places the *Impoſture*.

§. III. THERE are three diſtinct Orders of Men, or at the leaſt to be ſuppoſed diſtinct, in which this Power is contended for to be ſeated, each excluſive of one another, by the ſeveral Aſſertors and Fautors of the diſtant Opinions and Parties among us. The One, places it in the People, the multitude of Believers in common, as the general firſt immediate ſubject of Power Eccleſiaſtical, who by their concurrent Notes, Elections and Aſſignations limit and fix it on particular Perſons, for the Execution: ſo appointing, conſecrating, and inveſting for the work of the Miniſtry, to negotiate in the affairs of Souls, and in order to their Salvation. The Other ſubjects all in the Prince, or Secular Power, who is ſuppoſed in *actu Primo*, virtually and by a firſt inherency, to be Prieſt and People equally as Prince, and by the Right of Soveraignty, as chief Magiſtrate upon Earth, is inſtructed for all Offices and Duties in relation to Heaven, with a Power for Deputation and Devolution, as the Harveſt may be great, or the Labourers few; upon each occaſion requiring, and as he is pleaſed by his ſecular Hand to mark out the Perſon. The Third place it not in the Multitude in general, or in the Prince in ſpecial; but in a certain

indefinite number of Believers, called and impower'd thereunto, not by their Gifts and Abilities as Chriſtians in common, but by a particular ſignal Donation ſuperadded, given and left, firſt by Chriſt to his Apoſtles, and from them in Succeſſion devolved on the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church, in whom it now remains, who alone have the Power of its conveyance, and on whomſoever it is they ſhall lay their hands, together with the offices of Prayer, or by any other outward Symbol, overt Act or Teſtimony, which they ſhall uſe to evidence the Deputation, transfer it unto, theſe ſhall receive this Power of the Holy Ghoſt, be thorowly enabled for the tranſacting betwixt God and Man, the things that belong to Man's Eternity.

§. IV. THE deſign of this preſent Diſcourſe is, to take away the two former, and eſtabliſh the latter, to make it evident upon a juſt Enquiry, and certain Demonſtration, That all Church-Power was deſigned by Chriſt, and actually left by his Apoſtles only to Church-Officers, the Order of the Goſpel-Prieſthood, the Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, to be ſeparated on purpoſe and ſucceſſively inſtated in ſuch the Juriſdiction and Government, by ſuch of themſelves that had before received, and were fully inveſted with it; and this like other Succeſſions, to continue and be ſo managed, till the End cometh, and the Kingdom be delivered up to the Father. So that the general Heads I ſhall inſiſt upon, will be theſe Three.

1. That this Power is not in the People or Chriſtians in common.

2. That

2. That it is not in the Prince or Secular Government.

3. That it is in the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church of Chriſt, a Power and Offices peculiarly theirs, as to the execution, with its ſpecial force and Laws, reaching to all that come to Heaven by Chriſt Jeſus, and as not derived from, ſo no ways thwarting or interfering with the Civil Government. And all this, as ſuitable to the received Faith and Polity of the Church in the beſt Ages of it, down from Chriſt and his Apoſtles to us ward; ſo it agreeing with the particular Eſtabliſhments of the Laws of our Kingdom made for the owning and defence of our Chriſtianity, and alſo with the Religion of the ſame received and profeſſed in our Church ſince the Reformation.

CHAP. I.

The Contents.

Church Power is not in the People, either as a Body in General, or as one Single Congregation. Sect. 1.

This Power must first evidence it self to be given from God e're executed on, or derived to others. Holiness in its Nature does not infer it. The Priesthood not made Common before the Law, under it, or the Gospel. Admit that first Right by Nature to all Things and Offices, 'twas to be sure afterwards limited, and those that lay it open again, must shew by what Authority they do it. Otherwise Fanaticks in the sense of St. Jerome. Sect. 2.

The word χειροτονῶν infers no such Power. Sect. 3.

The Peoples concurrency gives no Power, even where their Votes are pretended to in the New Testament. Sect. 4.

Election and Vocation differ from Ordination, in the Practice of our Saviour, and first Ages of the Church, still expressed by several words. Sect. 5.

The Votes of the People give no Power, but yet are necessary because none is given without them, both the People and Pastors are Christ's Vicars in the Case. So *Beza, Blondel.* Sect. 6.

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ded quite, by reaſon of the Rites and Diſorders in them. Sect. 9. Chap. I.

The concurrency of 12 *Centuries down from the Apoſtles, amount to a Divine Right.* Blondel's *failure of it. His injury to his Friends. In what caſe Apoſtolical. Eccleſiaſtical Practice is not immutable. The ill Conſequences attending his Power given to the People. His Malice to the Order of Biſhops. Diſreputing Chriſtianity it ſelf. 'Tis unpardonable in the French Reformation, impoſing their preſent harder neceſſity for our pattern. The Deacon and Presbyter under the Biſhop; but neither in Subordination to the People.* Sect. 10.

And this they do in point of Epiſcopacy alſo: And we muſt have no Biſhops in England, *becauſe they have none in* France, *and which is promoted by the advantage of the Rebellion and Schiſm among us.* Blondel *offer'd his Service before to the Biſhops of* England; *but then he Prints his* Apologia pro Hieronymo, *Dedicates it to the Rump Parliament, and Aſſembly-Men, Is nauſeous in his Flatteries of both. Commends the* Scotch *Covenant. Is rude upon Biſhops. Soliciting their Ruine. This the Senſe of the Divines on that ſide the Sea.* Salmaſius *raves juſt ſo. The Independents murder'd the King. The Biſhops not the Authors of all Hereſies, as blackmouth'd* Baxter, Andrew Rivet, *and ſo does* Daulee. Ignatius *ſuffers for it. He and* Marcian *and* Valentinus *compared. Their few Complements does not acquit them. We only loſe by our Charity towards them. The diſadvantage thereby from our own Members. The late Replyer upon Biſhop* Pearſon *and Doctor* Beveridge *is the ſame. The late Letters from* Paris. Sect. 11.

The

Chap. I. *The People are only Witnesses of the good lifes of the Ordained.* Blondel's *own Collection, and the Autority of* Cyprian *is all along against him. The Church Canons. Our Ordinations at home. The nature of the thing it self.* Sect. 12, 13.

The People are not to choose or refuse their Pastor, as Blondel *rudely and unreasonably contends, with his usual Malice against Bishops, and our Church. 'Tis his Proposal is so fatal to Christianity.* Sect. 14.

Lay-men no Judges in Matters of Faith, and the Determinations of Indifferencies. The first Council at Jerusalem. *No Lay-Elders.* Sect. 15.

§. I. THIS is not in the People, and Believers in Common are not the Subject of Power Ecclesiastical. The Power of the Keys is not seated in, nor can it flow from, or be devolved, by them, either as a Body in general, or any one single Congregation in particular. Their stretching, or holding up the Hand, their joynt-suffrages in the choosing, numbring by the tale, as by Stones, Notes or Election, deputing and assignation (or whatever else, in their own behalf, they can make appear to be implied in the words χειροτονεῖν and συνεπιψηφίσαι, which they lay great stress upon, and wrest to their purpose) are of nō strength and validity at all, of no more force to depute for the ministry, to constitute in a new Order and Station, to confer the Power of the Keys, and place in that sacred Function, then the common cry and rout of the *Jews*, design-

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ing it, devolved guilt on the head of our Sa- Chap. I.
viour, depoſed him from his holy Offices, took from him his Kingly Power, when crying out with full throats, *We'll have no King but* Cæſar, *we will not have this man to reign over us*; or their hands ſtretch'd forth in Prayer, *Iſai.* 1. did bring a Bleſſing upon themſelves, when full of Blood; but on the contrary, hateful and abomination.

SUCH as pretend to this, plead this Power §. II.
for Deputation, and that ſuch only are the Separate for the Miniſtry, who are ſet apart by themſelves, and in Subſtitution, and can produce their Seals and Credentials, muſt firſt ſhew and give proof of their own Power derivative, and that ſuch was firſt given them of God, depoſited in their hands, as the common Magazine, or Store-houſe, to be diſpenſed at their wills and diſcretion, as the Harveſt requires, and the Labourers are ſent forth into it; and that for whom ſoever they ſhall lift up their hands, or ſtretch them out, to chooſe and make Election of, ſhall receive the Holy Ghoſt, the Powers of Sacred Orders, or of the Keys in the ſame act be conferr'd upon them, and which can never be prov'd, that it was given to the People or Believers in common; the *gratia gratis data*, and the *gratia gratum facions*, the gifts of Sanctification and Edification, as they ſpeak, as in their own Nature and Extent, do not reach to and imply one another, always place themſelves together in one and the ſame Subject, by any one Neceſſity whatſoever; every man is not wiſe in the ſame degree that he is good, nor Holy according to his Knowledge;

Power

Chap. 1. Power and Godlineſs do not ſtill go together, no more then do all thoſe other Gifts and Charity mentioned and diſlodged by Saint *Paul*, 1 Cor. 12. 13. the honeſt report of thoſe ſeven Men full of the Holy Ghoſt and Wiſdom, did not create them thereby, and in the immediate Power and Virtue of it, Church-Officers or Deacons, till ſet before the Apoſtles, and they pray'd, and laid their hands on them, *Acts* 6. and ſo in the Conſecration of all other Orders. So neither do we find under any one Diſpenſation ſince the World was, that by any one poſitive ſuperinduced Order and Conſtitution, theſe Landmarks were removed, that the ſeparate Power of the Prieſthood was ever laid common, promiſcuouſly and indefinitely placed in all Subjects, in every one in particular, all thoſe that either owned its Uſe and Power, that either pleaded or reaped any benefit by it. Before the Law God placed it in, and limited it to the Primogeniture, the firſt-born and chief of the Family. At the firſt giving, and under the Law he brought it into leſſer compaſs, and ſubjected it in *Aaron* and his Family in Succeſſion. And our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt aſcending up on high, and giving his Gifts unto Men, when to plant and propagate his Church throughout the whole World; he had rent, indeed, the Veyl of the Temple in ſunder at his Death, taken down the Partition-Wall betwixt *Jew* and *Gentile*, the incloſure was laid open, and the Aaronical Prieſthood had an end; but there was ſtill to be Separates for the guiding and conducting Men to Heaven, and officiating

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to that end before God, a Prieſthood was ſtill to be continued, though ſettled by a new Commiſſion and of another Nature; a Power devolved and limited to ſelect ſpecial Perſons alſo, and not Univerſal, as was to be the Believers, *And he gave ſome Apoſtles: and ſome, Prophets: and ſome, Evangeliſts: and ſome, Paſtors and Teachers; for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edifying of the Body of Chriſt; till we all come in the unity of the Faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect Man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt; that we henceforth be no more children toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of Doctrine, by the ſleight of men, and cunning craftineſs whereby they lye in wait to deceive: But ſpeaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Chriſt, from whom the whole body fitly joyned together and compacted, by that which every joynt ſupplyeth, according to the effectual working in the meaſure of every part, maketh increaſe of the body, unto the edifying of it ſelf in love*, Epheſ. 4. 8.—11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. *Are all Apoſtles? are all Prophets? are all Teachers? are all workers of miracles? have all the gifts of healing? do all ſpeak with tongues? do all interpret?* 1 Cor. 12. 29, 30. or could we admit of that abſurder, precarious ſtate of Nature contended for by ſome, ſuppoſing once an equality in all men, and that to all things, every one as coming into the world, had a right and title to every thing, a ſhare and intereſt in each Benefit, Office and Duty, and ſuitably as their Maker

Chap. I.

was

Chap. 1. was to be publickly ſerved and worſhipped, ſo could each one officiate in and diſcharge the Performance, or devolve and transfer his right on whom he pleaſe, or as occaſion; a Miſtake of the Learned *Hugo Grotius* himſelf, in his Poſthumous work, *De Imperio ſummarum poteſtatum in Sacris*, cap. 2. ſect. 4. though the fruit of his earlier and indigeſted Brain; nor is *Spalatenſis* to be acquitted in the point, *De Repub. Chriſt.* lib. 1. cap. 12. yet all this is ſuperſeded by an after-poſitive Inſtitution, and which is acknowledged by *Grotius* in the fore-quoted place; and 'tis the appointments of our Saviour that is to be our guide and rule, eſpecially ſince himſelf has put a perpetual Sanction in this our very caſe, and to endure all along with his Kingdom, as above, *Epheſ.* 4. or if the obſtinacy of ſome, and ſuch there are, will ſtill perſiſt, and tell it out, That this incloſure was notwithſtanding this, yet made common, and the Power reſolved again into the Multitude, they are to give Evidence both of the firſt Tranſlation, and after Matter of Fact, how it ſo deſcended. Church-Power, nor indeed any other, is not a private Preſumption, ſecretly infuſed, whether on a Multitude or particular Perſons: "'tis what was once depoſited in cer-"tain hands, the effect whereof is viſible, in "the Succeſſion of Perſons, deriving the Au-"tority which they claim, from the viſible "act of thoſe Perſons, that are intruſted "with it. There muſt be ſome known *Æra*, or publick viſible date of its iſſuing out, ſome diſtinctive mark of its coming, ſome outward badge of its cognizance; that the Conſcientious

ſcientious Enquirer may receive Satisfaction when demanding in Sincerity, what *Zedekiah* the Son of *Chenaanah* did of *Micaiah* in contempt, and with reproach, *Which way went the ſpirit of the Lord to ſpeak unto thee?* 1 Kings 22.24. thus to ask a ſign, had been no more to tempt the Lord, then it had been in King *Ahaz*, had he done it, *Iſai.* 7. but on the contrary a Duty; and St. *Jerome* gives the reaſon in his Commentaries on that place, *Tamen juſſus ut peteret, obedientia debet explere præceptum*; therefore becauſe God had commanded, and expects it. And St. *Jerome* there goes on, and therefore compares *Ahab* to the Idol-Worſhippers, who are led by their own fancies, that places his Altar in the corners of the Streets, in each Mountain and Grove, *Et pro Levitis habebat Fanaticos, non vult ſignum petere quod præceptum eſt*; for Levites take Fanatiques to officiate in God's Worſhip, ſuch as were not ſent, nor called, as was *Aaron*; a word as old as St. *Jerome*'s days, in the true ſenſe of Fanaticiſm, when the viſible beaten way, ſet out by God himſelf (as was the Order of the Levites) is ſlighted and deſerted, and they take to them Levites of their own, *Temulentos & fanaticos, neſcire quid dicerent*, as St. *Jerome* farther in his Comments on *Oſea*, Men drunk, but not with Wine, not able to give a reaſon of their Profeſſion to him that asks it. Chap. I.

NOR is there that in the Greek word §. III.
χαρακτὴρ which is contended for, and on which indeed their whole Fabrick is erected, and deſigns advanced. I know not how to give the due ſenſe of this word, thereby to

Chap. 1. to undeceive such as generally lye under the prejudice of its perverted Signification, than in the words of our learned Doctor *Hammond* in his Query *of Imposition of hands for Ordination*; [χειροτονία, "A word that literally signifies to stretch out, or hold up the hand; "but being used among the Heathens for "chooſing, or any sort of Suffrage, or giving of Sentence; which among them in "popular Judicatures or Choyces was wont "to be done by that ceremony of stretching "out or lifting up hands: it is in vulgar use "among Heathens, and Jewish, but especially among Christian Writers, brought to "signifie, without any respect to giving of "Suffrages (indifferently whether by one or "by more) constituting or ordaining,] and of which whoso wants farther satisfaction, may go on in that Excellent discourse, and have it, and also in his Annotations on *Acts* 14. 23. I'le only add here, as the word is used but three times in the New Testament, in none is it appliable to what they design from it. The one place is *Acts* 10.41. where a multitude in voting to be sure is excluded, for 'tis said only of Gods Election and Ordination of the Apostles. The other is *Acts* 14. 22. χειροτονήσαντες. 'Tis rendred, *when they had Ordained them Elders in every City*. Where nothing to do sure with the Multitude, the People or Laity. The last is 2 *Cor.* 8. 19. and will amount to no more than the former; and whosoever was the particular person there said to be chosen of the Churches, the meaning can only be, That the Apostles had assigned and appointed him to go along in that particular affair. AND

AND 'tis farther obſervable, that where- Chap. I.
ever any Election by Suffrage or Vote, is §. IV.
either pretended to be made by the Multitude, or really is ſo in the New Teſtament, and ſome there were; 'tis not the naked Voting or giving up the Aſſent in their behalf, gives what is to be, or what can be ſuppoſed to be conferr'd, that conſtitutes and fixes in any one deſigned Order, but ſomething farther is ſuper-added, and ſupervenes, collates and inſtals, makes the ſeparation and incloſure; it is pleaded at the Ordination of *Matthias*, Acts 1. συγκατεψηφίσθη, *Communibus calculis annumerabatur*, by common Conſent, Votes and Suffrage, he was added to that Number, to the Eleven Apoſtles, *i. e.* the whole Multitude, the Hundred and twenty Diſciples, or Believers, all concurr'd in the choice and aſſignation; and which if granted, though it needs not be, yet nothing is gain'd on their ſide, for that which conſtituted and gave *Matthias* his Portion in the Miniſtry, and which *Barſabas* had not, though he had his firſt Appointment by the whole Society as well as he, was the lot falling upon him, by which *God*, not *they* are ſaid to chooſe him, *i. e.* to delegate unto, and inveſt him with the Order and Power of an Apoſtle, by the ſenſible Medium or Determination by lots; and this the Prayer makes plain. *And they pray'd and ſaid, Lord, thou which knoweſt the hearts of all men, ſhew whether of theſe two thou haſt choſen, that he may take part of this Miniſtry and Apoſtleſhip, from which* Judas, *by tranſgreſſion fell, that he might go unto his own place; and they gave forth their*

Chap. I. *lots, and the lot fell upon* Mattyias, *and he was numbred among the eleven Apoſtles.* They all with one accord acknowledged him a Man ſeparate for the Miniſtry. Another Ordination we find *Acts* 6. though to a much lower Office and Order in the Church, when the Seven Deacons receiv'd their firſt Conſtitution; where 'tis plain, the Apoſtles call'd the Multitude together, told them the occaſion of the deſigned Order, ſuch the People were to look out the Men, and ſee and enquire that they be fit for the preſent Office, and ſo they did, *they choſe* Stephen *and* Philip, *&c.* but it follows, when they had done ſo, they ſet them before the Apoſtles, who were to give them the Power deſigned, to accept and inveſt them; *And when the Apoſtles had prayed, they laid their hands on them:* where the Multitude are allow'd to chooſe, and here they might have an eſpecial reaſon for it; for their Eſtates in part, ſo much as was aſſign'd for the Poor, was to be entruſted in their hands, and good reaſon that they approv'd of their perſonal Integrity; yet had they not Power to conſtitute in the loweſt degree of the Prieſthood; 'tis the Apoſtles alone who had receiv'd the Power from on high, and on whoſe Perſons it was enſtated, could, and did, do it. And whatever *Beza* ſuppoſes at the Ordination made by *Barnabas* and *Paul*, that they had the joynt-ſuffrages of the People in order to it, *Acts* 14. 23. and which he doth in the ſame precarious way, in all the Ordinations we meet with in Scripture, though the Apoſtles and Presbyters are ſtill alone mentioned, as here, yet 'tis evident

dent that they were the hands of *Paul* and *Barnabas* that were laid on them, as of the Presbytery in other places, and by which, not the Votes and Elections of the People, at leaſt not without them, were the Ordinations performed; 'tis not to be ſure in the Believers in common to do it. Chap. I.

§. V. THAT not only Election, but Vocation, differ from Ordination; and 'tis one thing to look out, cull, chooſe and deſign for the Office of the Miniſtry, and another actually to give the Power of the Keys, to enſtate and fix in it; nothing more clear than this from the Practice of our Saviour himſelf, who firſt called *Andrew* and *Peter*, &c. then elected and choſe them into the number of the Twelve; yet all this while, whatever of Power was given in the mean time, the full to be ſure and complete Power of an Apoſtle was not given to any one of them, that was not devolved and tranſmitted, till after his Aſcenſion, and then only they received that Power by the Holy Ghoſts coming upon them at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, *Acts* 2. and the ſame has been the Senſe and Practice of the ſucceeding Church in all Ages, that the People had Votes in the choice of Biſhops, all muſt grant, and it can be only Ignorance and Folly that pleads the contrary; but this never was thought to create the Biſhop, and he muſt be as ignorant and ſtupid on the other ſide that believes it, and run as croſs to the practice of all Antiquity, that was ſtill the Clergies Province alone, the Work of Ordination; nor are the People pleaded or ever mentioned to have a ſhare in it: and

Chap. 1. though χειροτονία be sometimes used for Election and Choice. So *Balsamon* upon the first Canon of the Apostles, and 'tis used at the entrance of Deaconesses by *Justinian*, *Novel* 3. 6. *cap.* 6. and *Hugo Grotius* gives us many more instances of the like Natures, *De Imperio sum. Potest. in Sacris*, cap. 10. sect. 6. yet when strictly speaking, it is defined by *Zonaras* upon that first Canon, ἐπὶ τῆ ἐπικλήσει τοίνυν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐυλογοῦντα χειροτονίαν, and 'tis appropriated to the Bishop, when stretching forth his Hand in the Office of Consecration; or when Praying over the Person to be Ordained, and invoking the Holy Ghost, as by χειροτονία is farther declared, *ibid.* and so strict is *Zonaras* in this his limitation of the Word, and its use to Ordination, that when speaking of the assignation of under Church-Officers, as *Readers*, *Singers*, &c. he changes it into τάξαντος, using the former in the Ordination only of those of the Priestly Catalogue, Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, and which he only Copies out of the Church-Canons; as *Can.* 2. *Concil.* 4. *Gen. Chalced. Can.* 6. & 14. *Concil.* 6. *in Trullo*, and the first Council of *Nicea* has still held to the distinction betwixt Election and Ordination, and expresses them by several words; the former by καθίσαντες, the latter by χειροτονία, in the fourth Canon. And so again in the sixth Canon, the care is the same of confounding these two, so far as the use of different words will do it, ἐψηφίσθαι is the word used for the Power and Acts of the People; and χειροτονία of the Bishop; and which *Zonaras* there Paraphrases by τελετουργίαν, χειροθεσίαν, καθίσιν, none

none of which was ever aſſumed by the People or Laity, and the ſame diſtinction is retained betwixt ἀποδόσεις and χειροτονίας by *Ariſtenus in Can.* 10. *Sancti Baſilii ad Amphilochium apud Pandect. Can. Beverig. Socrates* in his *Church Hiſtory*, lib. 1. cap. 9. uſes different words but with the ſame deſign, and is clearer yet, if poſſible, in the diſtinction; the Power of the People he ſpeaks of and expreſſes by ψηφοφορία, a word very fit and apt to prove the Primitive Cuſtom of Election preceding, the Act and Office of the Biſhop, by χειροθεσία, laying on his hands upon the Conſecrated; and ſo it generally goes on betwixt the Clergy and the People, in the Offices of Ordination, the People chooſing, the Biſhop conſecrating, the Emperor aſſenting, and ſo alſo is the buſineſs of laying on of hands ſtill appropriated to the Biſhop, not only as excluding the Presbyter, who has not the Power, but alſo the People, as 'tis over and over again in the Church Story, and which to tranſcribe were needleſs; the People give nothing of that Power, about which we are diſcourſing, and is ſuppoſed in thoſe in Holy Orders. Chap. I.

§. VI. AND to this all agree, that admit of the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery in Ordinations, and that there is ſomething peculiar in the Clergy, and which the People have not, and conſequently cannot give; but another Diſpute here commences, what Obligation this Practice of the Church for ſome Ages paſt, lays upon the Chriſtian World now preſent? in what degree of uſefulneſs or neceſſity they placed the Votes and Con-

Chap. I. currency of the People in the constituting a Church-man? And this say some, in the same order of necessity as the Concurrency of the Clergy; that although the Suffrages of the People do not confer and collate Church-Power apart and solitary, and where the hands of the Presbytery is not; yet the Presbytery cannot do it without them, 'tis neither legal, just, nor duly performed if so attempted, something is wanting, not only for outward Attestation, but for the real translation of Autority on the heads of the Ordained. Thus *Theodore Beza* is expres, *Ordinatio seu impositio manuum, certè nullos proprie creat ministros; sed legitime vocatos seu electos, adhibitis precibus, mittit in sui muneris possessionem. De ministerii grad. cont. Saraviam cap.* 22. That Ordination or Imposition of Hands properly creates no Ministers, but by Prayers, gives such as are call'd or elected (he means by the People, as 'tis every where to be seen in his Writings) Possession of their Office, a kind, it seems, of Mandate for induction, to what they had a right before by another Hand collated. And *David Blondel*, the most Industrious of the Presbyterian Order, in his Apology *Pro Hieronimo*, spends many Pages in the latter end of that Treatise, in giving the Practice of the Church for Ten Centuries, admitting this Power of the People in Ordinations, and that they have equal right thereto, and are alike constituted by Christ, his Vicars in the case, with the Clergy, *Laicos fratres, equo cum clero jure, Christi hac in parte vicarios constitutos*, pag. 471. and upon which he fixes a Divine right immutable,

ble, and indiſpenſable; and what Ordinations were made during theſe Centuries, without the Peoples Choice, Suffrages and Approbations preceding, *aberrationes fuiſſe ſtatuamus*, pag. 542. *ibid.* were Anomala's, and Aberrations from the Rule, for Correction, not Imitation. My deſign is not to examine all the little Arguments *Blondel* there produces, or the numerous Quotations he brings, it were tedious and to no purpoſe, becauſe moſt of them are ſo, his Zeal and Induſtry outrunning his Judgment, as throughout the whole Apology. What is Truth and to be adhered unto, I ſhall as briefly and plainly as I am able, lay down in the following Concluſions taking the liberty of Reflexion, as occaſion. Chap. I.

§. VII. THAT there is no Practice, much leſs Command of our Saviour for any ſuch thing, but the quite contrary, he conſulted nobody that we read of, not only in the firſt Vocation and Election of his Diſciples (for who ſhould they be? or where ſhould he find them?) nor in their after-aſſignation to either Apoſtleſhip, or to what other degree of the Power of the Miniſtry was on the Seventy devolved. And this *Blondel* in part grants, but firſt inſinuates, that it might be otherwiſe, though ſecret and not declared, and then poſitively affirms that it was ſo, upon a bottom equally precarious; becauſe the Apoſtles practiſed and delivered to us what they copied from Chriſt, who ſtill call'd in the whole Fraternity and required their Votes in each Ordination, and thought themſelves in Duty ſo obliged, *Pag.* 475. and

Chap. 1. which how far true, and to what purpose, that it is no ways to the advantage of *Blondel*'s design, is already considered.

§. VIII. NOR do the after-Ordinations in Scripture prove any thing like it, but rather give Evidence to the contrary; I'le make my instances in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, on purpose wrote by St. *Paul* to instruct them in these like Affairs of the Church, as to the Polity of it, that they might know how to behave themselves in the Church of God, as he tells *Timothy* in particular, 1. 3.15. where 'tis notoriously evident, that the Peoples Votes are no more required to the constituting a Bishop or Deacon, then that their Hands are there actually laid upon them. That the Hands of the Presbytery did consecrate, we read expresly, and we read of none else; and such the Presbytery, *Timothy* and *Titus*, have the alone Charge and Power delegated, to Inspect and Animadvert upon their Lifes and Manners, to receive or reject as their Prudence directs; the Clergy are sole Judges, 'tis not required, that the People, so much as present; every particular Man's inward desire, and private Motions (supposing other due qualifications concurring) made known to such whose is the Power for ordaining, seems sufficient, if any man desire the Office of a Bishop, 1 *Tim.* 3. 1. and that these Epistles are to be follow'd, as the pattern in the Mount, the Platform and Model of Church-Government, these Men strenuously plead at other times; and those other instances of Ordinations in Scripture brought by *Blondel*, conclude nothing more. In that

of

of *Matthias*, there is no ſuch thing expreſs at all; the Believers being few, were all together in one place, and they were neceſſitated ſo to be; but that they otherwiſe concurr'd then by their preſence; or that St. *Peter*'s Speech was directed to them and not to the Apoſtles only, is not thence to be inferr'd; that in *Acts* 6. was chiefly, he ſays only, to provide Deacons to look after their Poor; and good reaſon was there, the People ſhould approve of ſuch in whoſe hands their Moneys was to be depoſited; nor can any inference be hence made on his ſide, unleſs the conſequence be good, that ſuch as are fit and able to chooſe and depute in whoſe hands their Money ſhall be entruſted, are for the ſame reaſon, inſtructed to Skill and chooſe their Teachers; or that we ſet a lower price on mens Souls, than we do on their Money; becauſe we can allow the Laity to provide for the latter; but we think there ought to be better proviſion made, and more care taken for the former. What is argued farther from the parity of the Call and Conſecration of *Aaron*, Heb. 5. is full levell'd againſt himſelf; where to be ſure all concurrency of the People was excluded, in every reſpect whatever. Chap. 1.

§. IX. WE'll go on from Scripture-inſtances to thoſe immediately after the Apoſtles, and ſee if here his Succeſs be more; we'll accept what he ſays of his Twelve Centuries in immediate Succeſſion; becauſe they are not worth the particular canvaſs in this Determination. The point does not lye here, Whether the Laity did ſometimes, or oftentimes

Chap. 1. times concur in Ordinations? but did they always concur? He dares not say this, but he believes not above Ten Ordinations to be made otherways, *Pag.* 541. which he supposes to be failures, and to be occasioned by the inseparable accidents of the Church Militant; but no rules for Succession. Though, by the way, 'tis the chief design of the Apology it self, by fewer Examples, indeed not one, but what is by him industriously forced and perverted, to cut off the Chain, and overthrow the concurrent Testimony of all Ages in the point of Episcopacy; such is his slavery to his present Cause. But such as consult Antiquity, and the Ordinals of Churches impartially, and which we have reason to believe he never did, will find more, and no one of them censur'd as failures; that Elections and Nominations were made otherwise, and that oftner, than in his form. At least many times, sometimes by the Emperors without the People, sometimes by the Emperors and People, sometimes by the Emperor, Clergy, and People, sometimes by the Clergy without either; and this in very good times of the Church, as instances are every where in Church-Story; and particularly, that it is not inseparable from the People, and but by Permission, and upon occasion, otherwise their Votes are to be over-ruled, appears from the many Laws made by the Emperors, limiting what Persons are to be Ordained, and what not, 16. *Cod. Theodos. Tit.* 2. *Lex.* 3. *l.* 19. 32, &c. *Sozomen. Eccl. Hist. l.* 5. *c.* 13. And if it be admitted, what *Melitius* and his followers objected against *Paulinus*,

linus, That his Ordination was not as it ought to be, becauſe without the conſent of all the People; as in *Sozomen*, Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 13. yet the Ordination was not hereby voided, and we have a certain Autority on the other ſide, and much about the ſame time too; 'tis the 13th Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which expreſly forbids, that the Election of ſuch as are to be Ordained be at all in the People, a certain Argument that the Church placed it at the moſt under the head of indifferences, what occaſion and circumſtances might enjoyn or null, receive or reject; otherwiſe it could not thus become limitable by Cuſtom, or the Subject of different Laws Eccleſiaſtical; and at laſt the numerous and turbulent Meetings on the occaſion of Ordinations and Factions in giving their Votes, even to Riots and Tumults, to Blood-ſhedding and Murder, forced that the People were excluded quite, and general Laws to that purpoſe were made, prohibiting their appearance at ſuch times, *Quamdiu in Eccleſia Plebs partem habuit in Epiſcopis & Presbyteris legendis, nunquam diſcordiis & factionibus civitates caruere, donec res ipſa & pax Eccleſiarum docuit, Plebi hoc jus ademptum, Magiſtratibus & Clericis relinqui primo debere, quod poſteà ſoli ſibi Clerici vindicabant.* So *Blondel*'s own Friend *Salmaſius* gives account, and an end of the Elections by the People, *Defenſio. Regia*, cap. 7. And it may be farther obſerv'd, that amongſt the many Cautions and Reſtrictions concerning Ordinations, the ſeveral Rules and Inſtances given, by and for which, they are rendred void, and null'd if againſt or wanting Chap. 1.

Chap. 1. ing in either, abundance of which are to be found; as, That every Bishop is to be Consecrated by three other Bishops, *Can.* 1. *Apostol.* That the Metropolitan be always one, or with his leave, *Can.* 4. *Conc.* 1. *Nic. Can.* 19. *Conc. Antioch. Can.* 12. *& Can.* 6. *une quarte Gen. Conc. Chalcedon.* That no foreign Ordinations are valid, *Can.* 2. *Conc. Constantinop.* unless in those Churches in Heathen Countries, and no Bishop is setled, or in case of Persecution. *Sozom. Eccl. Hist. cap.* 9. If a Bishop deserts his Diocess, *Can.* 3. *Concil. Ephes. Gen.* All Ordinations procured by Money, *Can.* 29. *Apost. & Can.* 2. *Concil.* 4. *Gen. Chalcedon.* That it be not by Secular Powers, *Can.* 30. *Apost.* If made only by Presbyters, as in the Case of *Colluthus*, *Athanas. Apol. pag.* 784. 792. In case of some known and notorious Scandal which the Bishop that ordain'd then lay under, *Athanas. Ep. ad Solitar. vitam agentes.* In some Cases of Heresie in the Ordainer, 16. *Cod. Theodos. Tit.* 5. *Lex.* 12. 14. 57. Yet amidst these and such like ἀκύρους καὶ βιαίους χειροτονίας, illegal Ordinations and defective, complain'd of by *Eusebius*, which were during the Persecution of *Diocletian* in his twelfth Chapter, *De Martyribus Palestinæ*, and against which the Church still provided for the future; there is no one Caution concerning Ordinations by the People, such a thing being never presumed and attempted, nor is there any one instance of but voiding any one Ordination that was made without their but Votes, and Hands lift up, and concurring in order to it, and which certainly there would have been, had the

the Church adjudg'd their pre-elections or concurrency so necessary, especially upon so many failures; as *David Blondel* acknowledges there were, one of which was enough to have awakened the Church-Governors to a like care they used on such Occasions, or had she but placed their concurrency with those but Circumstantials, of Orders, many of which are just now mentioned, and the Church there made particular provision relating to them. Chap. I.

§. X. SO that *David Blondel*'s design of a Divine and Immutable Right, in the defence of which he has took so great pains, is only writing in the Dust; nor is any one inference due that he has made in order to it: 'Tis true, his Argument is well laid, had the Performance been accordingly, and the concurrency of ten Centuries immediately upon the Apostles and Scriptures attesting any one Truth or Practice, is as authentique, and ought to be so received, as any Grounds and Motives of Faith can make it to be, nor can any thing be required more, which can be thought to concur to the making a full perswasion of the Truth under Debate. But alas! the chief Ingredient, for a thorow Tradition is absent, Universality, it was so neither in all places, not at all times, nor in any one time or Century of the best and first Ages of the Church, in every instance of it; but still changed upon accidents often, and more upon Industry and Choice; and last of all wholly abolished and in good times of the Church, without any care or design for a restitution, taken even out of the hands of the Magi-

Chap. 1. Magiſtrate, and limited to the Biſhops, *Can. 3. Concil. Sept. Gen. Nicen.* and it may be much queſtioned, whether his Brethren and Friends both in *France*, and *Holland*, and *England*; eſpecially ſuch of them as have took up the Cudgels after him, have more reaſon to be aſhamed of his ill Succeſs, then to be down-right angry with him for the Way and Method and Grounds he laid for proving the Divine and immutable right of it. Surely if this be admitted, the diſadvantage will be their own, in a point of a higher concern, if Apoſtolical Eccleſiaſtical practice ſtill amount to a Divine immutable Law. And indeed it would be of real ill conſequence, in many conſiderable caſes that would ariſe in the true Church of Chriſt; for although the matter of Fact be evident, it has been receiv'd and practiſed in the Churches firſt and beſt Ages; yet it may be a doubt what the Obligation was to them who then receiv'd it, and whoſe practice it was? whether as abſolute and immutable, and conſequently, how it now reaches us? every Truth and Matter of Fact, has not the ſame degree of Neceſſity in its Nature and Uſe, nor do his Brethren more go againſt him here, than he againſt himſelf; I might refer to his own Text, but the *Irenicum* has done it before me, (*p.* 401.) joyning him with *Bochart*, and *Amiraldus* in the cauſe, of which his *Triumvirate*, as he calls them, *Blondel* is there placed in the head; and all to make good that one great Truth, by their Autority, which is vaſt and unqueſtionable, (and to defend which is the great buſineſs of that Treatiſe of Church-Government;

ment; nor has that Author as yet declared his Judgment to be otherwise, or rather corrected that his first and early Mistake there obtruded on the World) to pass a perpetual Sanction upon it. *That no form of Government or Polity in the Church is immutable*, though by the Apostles themselves recommended; and yet Apostolical practice is here binding and eternal (*pag.* 473. *Apol.*) and the Power of the People is thus transmitted from Heaven, as the alone House and Pedegree of its descent, and so immutably is it stablish'd, that no accident or ill circumstance whatever, or with what ill consequences soever foreseen and foreknown, no consideration of the Peoples ignorance, even duncery it self (*at eos omnes, non modo imperitos sed & imperitissimos demus*, pag. 501.) no miscarriages or other seeming inconsistencies, are to be considered, or can they weigh down against the Eternal antecedent Command, either aboliſh the Power, or cease; but alter, in but one instance, the custom and practice of their Votes and Elections to the Office of the Ministry, nothing can remain but for common Prudence, for all was known at first to our Saviour, whence the Apostles received it, to the succeeding Church, who left no such reserve, allow'd not to us (nor have we reason to take it ill, for they did not to themselves) any such Considerations (*pag.* 51, 52.) and what Exceptions there have been to this first and great Rule, as he tells us there was some few, arose from the Pride and Usurpations of the Bishops, who so soon as they had taken to themselves Titles and Power above the Pres- Chap. I.

Chap. 1. Presbyters, they engrossed the Right of Ordaining them, and never required the concurrency of the Clergy, and the People, spurr'd on by Fame, and Vain-glory, and Secular Interest; and that is the reason why there is no Canons express, and very few examples of the Peoples chooſing Presbyters and Deacons. Nor does it in the original right diminish their Power, because wrested from them, (*pag.* 469, 470.) and all which is one, among the many Fictions and Romances, the whole Apology is stuffed withal, and every ways like himself, who, according to his usual good Nature, and Malice to the Order it self, still lays what dirt he can at the doors of the most eminent Christians, the Bishops and Prelates of the Church of Christ, not considering, or, rather not caring, what injury the common Christianity thereby receives, through the sides of these its known Martyrs and Confessors, so he can but fill up his private Congregation; a guilt not easily to be removed from too many of the *French* Reformation, especially from *Dailee* in his Book of the Use of the Fathers; and the abundance of Irreligion in general, in these parts of the World ows it self in a great measure to it. And to see the unluckiness of it, and how his ill Nature returns unavoidably upon himself, what he attributes to the Bishops Pride and Arrogancy, and Self-interest, in assuming and engrossing to themselves a Power which was not theirs, that they ordained Presbyters and Deacons without the People and Clergy, that the dependency of both might be the surer upon them, and

and certainly be their Slaves and Vaſſals, Chap. 1.
and which is the invidious deſign of his whole Book, how eaſily is it all return'd on his own pate? and to what elſe can any one impute this his clawing with and condeſcending to the People to be, but his own, and the other of his Brethrens dependance upon them, as it is at this day in *France?* and 'tis wholly in the Power of the Congregation, both to Vote in, and Eject their Miniſter at pleaſure, to beſtow what Maintenance upon them their Wiſdom directs; nor is it at all in the Power of the Clergy, as things are now with them, ſtreightned by the Civil Sword, to avoid or amend it; to them indeed, in their circumſtances, the good-liking and choice of the People are neceſſary, otherwiſe they muſt change the Climate, their Churches and Miniſtry muſt ceaſe and fall together. And this I ſay, not to inſult over and upbraid them, for their caſe in general is really to be pitied; but thus do outward accidents imbody themſelves, and become as of the real Subſtance; and too many Models and Syſtems, and Profeſſions have ſome regard, too much yielding and complyance with them; this one thing does it generally need a Pardon, and to them in particular it cannot eaſily be granted, it may with great juſtice be called their Pride and Uſurpation, that what is their own unavoidable Neceſſity; what the frowns and injuries of their Native Countrey they live in, the want of Countenance and Protection from the Prince, and of a due Proviſion by Laws, and which in reaſon ought to be otherways, lays upon them, this they'l obtrude

Chap. 1. upon us, upon all Churches, as the Pattern upon the Mount, the Platform, not to be deviated from, every ways to be copied out, upon no leſs a peril than the breach of an antecedent immutable Law, an Inſtitution from Heaven. What ought to be their care to repreſent as fairly as they can, they magiſterially command; other Churches are condemned for not obeying, a fault the Churches of the *French* Reformation are no ways to be acquitted of. That there is a Subordination among Clergy-men, and a dependence as on one Head and Superior in the ſeveral degrees of the Prieſthood, this is moſt certain, 'tis bottomed on as good and known Autority as our Religion it ſelf, and which will be made to appear by and by in this Treatiſe, though not as the buſineſs of it. The Deacon is a Miniſter or Servant to the Biſhop, and both Presbyter and Deacon receive their Power and Deputation from him; but in any other ſenſe we own no Head or Maſter, Servants, Miniſters we are but of God and Chriſt, of the Goſpel which we miniſter unto them, of which we are Stewards for their advantage and relief, diſpenſing to every man his Portion, miniſtring in our courſes, as the Angels in theirs, for the good of all, a faithful Miniſter of Chriſt for you; ſo the Apoſtle, *Coloſ.* 1. 23. and in this alone conſiſts our διακονία or λειτουργία, the work of our Miniſtry, and attendance at the Altar. Thus we are to the People, as Governors, Rulers, Inſtructers, Teachers, and which laſt Office, allowed us by all; ſo immediately implies Superiority and Prelation, that it alone

alone will not let us be their Servants, as Autorized and Commissioned, impower'd by and in Deputation from them. Chap. I.

§. XI. NOR is this *David Blondel*'s disingenuity, or undue dealings alone, or in this case only, of the Peoples Power over their Pastors, there is one case more at least, and which has more than one Abettor, and 'tis that of Episcopacy; as the People are above the Clergy, so must not one Clergy-man be above another; the Order, Solitary Power, Superiority and Prelation of the Bishop must cease, was never any, then as by Usurpation, there must be a level between a Presbyter and him; because there are no Bishops in the *French* Churches, an equality is now fixed and setled among them; and in order to the surer, certain, compassing it in our Church of *England*, they took the opportunity of a present Schism and Defection from our present Bishops, abetted and heightned by a prosperous Rebellion; they even insult over us as men that were down, and to rise up no more; they pursue us as a vanquish'd Enemy, look upon the iron as red hot and to be stricken, and their Presbyterian Model to be erected in our Kingdom, as that Image once fallen from Heaven. To this purpose comes upon the Stage their *Triumviri*, *Blondel*, *Salmasius*, and *Daille*, Men throughly instructed by a vast and unwearied Industry and Reading, and which they perverted to render Episcopacy less acceptable, not to say odious in the World, as the effect of Innovation and Ambition, contrary to the designs of Christ, and the Practice of the Church in the best Ages of it; and

Chap. 1. herein their proficiency and advancement was not inconsiderable, considering the badness and difficulty of their cause, what St. *Jerome* has observed of Hereticks in and before his time, in his Comments on the First Chapter of *Amos*; *Omnes enim Hæretici labore nimio ac dolore quærendi, ordinem aliquem & consequentiam hæreseos suæ reperire conati sunt*, is evident in them, through abundance of toil and sore labour, making pretence of Order, shews of Antiquity and Consequences, to advance and effect it. And *Blondel* goes in the Front, or at least, has merited to be placed there, with his renowned and much gloried in Apology *Pro Hieronymo*, which he says he kept by him Three years, ready for the Press; but did not Print it by reason of the Wars in *England*, or rather till the King and Church were both ruined, easily then presuming of a fairer reception, and which Book 'tis more than probable, he then Digested and Composed, when his offer'd Service to write quite the other way, and in the Defence of our Episcopacy establish'd in this Church, was tender'd to that great Prelate and Martyr of Blessed Memory Arch-Bishop *Laud*, but rejected: what were the Reasons moving the Wisdom of that excellent Prelate to refuse him, I cannot tell; he might suspect his Integrity, or judge it less for the Honor of our Church, on purpose to imply a Foreigner in the managery and defence of what is so neer, and of so great a concern to us; and he might not think the concurrency of one or two Doctors of the *French* Reformation, so considerable, or perhaps of any weight,

weight, to turn the Scale for or againſt the famous Church of *England*, as it now appears they are reputed, he could not ſuſpect his thorow Inſtructions and Ability for it; and that the former moſtly ſweigh'd the wonted Sagacity of that excellent Perſon, giving him no ſmall Grounds for it, will appear, if we go on, and find him dedicating That his Book *Univerſis Dei optimi Maximi ſervis, occidente toto, maxime verò per Britannias, ad Chriſtiani populi Eccleſiaſticum & Politicum regimen vocatis*; To the Houſes of Parliament and Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, both Uſurpers; the one of the Regal, the other of the Epiſcopal Power, whom they had Aſſaulted both with Sword and Pen, to their then preſent Abolition, and whom he flatters with the ſpecious Titles of Supporters both of Church and State, *Vobis viri maximi in quos Eccleſia & Reſpublica inclinatè recumbunt, Britannorum ἀνεχθίσια*, the Choice Men and Supreme in our Land, *Quibus incoctum eſt generoſo pectus honeſto*; and for Epiſcopacy it ſelf, (beſides the whole Deſign of the Book which is laid againſt it) he places it for time and quality with thoſe firſt Hereſies which infeſted the Church, thoſe Antichriſts which were then in the World, both in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and in St. *John*'s, and in the *Revelations*, with thoſe Hereticks that deny the Monarchy of God, and the Incarnation of Chriſt Jeſus, and that it was by *Diotrephes* devolv'd to after-ages, by degenerate Men, who regarded not the inſtitution from God, *Per degeneres plurimos, divinaq; originis immemores propagatum*, by ſuch only as conſult Ambition,

Chap. I.

Chap. 1. to whom the Apostolical Humility enjoyn'd by our Saviour, was tedious and nauseous; men affecting Tyranny and Usurpation against St. *Peter*'s monition, 1 *Pet.* 5. 2, 3. *Ob tedium Apostolicæ humilitatis quam præcepit affectantes Tyrannidem*, &c. He approves the *Scotish* Covenant, and their bringing it into England, *fortissimum Communis concordiæ pacisq; vestræ vinculum*, as the most effectual way for Peace and Concord; of which Covenant one part of its second Article is this, To endeavour the Extirpation of Prelacy, *i. e.* Church-Government, by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. and Exhorts them by their Loyalty and Obedience to their Prince, to quit and vindicate themselves of that Aspersion of Rebels they lye under, and through them may be cast upon all Protestants, *Christianâ modestiâ pacificisq; consiliis, perpetuisq; fidelis vestræ in regiam Majestatem observantiæ exemplis, asperas voces refellite*; that the World convinc'd by Experience may confess, that it is neither true now, nor ever shall be necessary, *No Bishop, no King*; and that the one may be admitted and supported without the other, *Fateaturq; continuis experimentis evillus orbis, nec verum nunc nec necessarium esse, vel fuisse unquam, qui ægrè Episcopos ferunt, agriùs reges ferre, qui nullos admittunt, nec regiam potestatem ex animo admittere*, and assures them of the concurrency of the Protestant Churches on their side the Sea, who have often wish'd to see their own Simplicity in Government, to be restored and setled among them, *quam Disciplinam à cismarinis Protestantibus præoptatam*, &c. and all which

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is to be ſeen, and more, by whoſo pleaſes to read over but his Preface to the Apology. *Claudius Salmaſius* goes the ſame way, or worſe, if worſe can be; he argues indeed for the Epiſcopacy in *England*, becauſe continued with the Reformation, and what prevented many Peſtiferous Sects, which after the Secluſion of Biſhops aroſe, *Quod quamdiu fuerat Epiſcopatus, mille peſtifera Secta & Hereſes in Anglia pullularunt. Præfat. ad Defenſ. Regiam*; and aggravates it againſt the Independents, whom he ſuppoſes to have Murdered the King, and removed the Biſhops without his Aſſent, *Defenſ. pag.* 358. it ſeems it was concluded in *France* what *Party brought the King to Death*; nor did they then believe the *Biſhops to be the Authors of all the Hereſies in the Chriſtian World.* Though Mr. *Baxter* tells us, It is not agreed here in *London*, and that all Hereſies ſprang thence, in that his black Book, call'd *Church Hiſtory abbreviated*; then which, a *Lucian* has not been more rude, in his language and ſcurrilous Imputations to our common Chriſtianity; and all Parties of but common apprehenſion, that read that his Book or hear of it, muſt agree that he is indeed a *Hater*, as he in the Title-Page terms himſelf; but not of *falſe Hiſtory*, but of the *truth of Chriſtian Religion*; to the baffling of which, repreſenting it effectually to the Age, inclined enough to believe it, as a Cheat and Impoſture, what more could have been done, then by expoſing, in that odious way, ſo many Succeſſions of the Biſhops and acknowledged Governors in the Church, the moſt eminent Profeſſors there, and the great part Chap. 1.

Chap. 1. of them, to the Stake, and with their Blood? by ſuch Follies and Impertinencies many times, but oftner, by heavier guilts, reported of them, the Author's Impudency, and his Falſities as to Matter of Fact, has already been given to the World by an Ingenious Hand; and nothing but a decay of Diſcipline and Government in the Church, can hinder that a farther cenſure does not follow, his Perſon be not equally purſued, and he publickly Excommunicated the Body of Chriſtians. Perhaps *James Naylor* did not more deſerve to have his Tongue bored through. But to return to our Friend *Walo*, who in Compariſon to Mr. *Baxter* is ſo indeed; but his Spleen was now but low, it ſwells and grows bigger at other times, and our Biſhops are then its object, he ſpeaks out in other places, he ſays, ſo long as Epiſcopacy remains, which is the foundation and root of Papacy, little or nothing is done; to cut off the Head is not enough, *Quamdiu remanebat Epiſcopatus, qui tanquam baſis eſt ac radix Papatûs, nihil aut parum proficeret, qui ſolum caput reſecaret. Apparat. ad lib. de Primatu*, pag. 169, 70. And he goes to the ſame purpoſe, *Pag.* 197. that thoſe Common-wealths or Kingdoms, which have receiv'd the Reformation, Sworn againſt the *Roman*, both Court and Church, and where there is now no Papacy; for what reaſon they can deſire to retain Epiſcopacy, he does not ſee, the Reformation ſeems not whole and full, which is in that part defective; and that Epiſcopacy is become a degree above a Presbyter, he imputes to the corrupt Manners, to Ambition and deſire of

Honor,

Honor, and to other evil Arts, and depraved Minds of Men, *Walo. Meſſal. de Epiſcop. & Presbyt. cont. Petavium, Diſſert. cap.* 6. and ſuitably did he lay his deſign, and he did not think he could write to the purpoſe againſt the Primacy of the Pope, without that his tedious and nauſeous *Apparatus* or *Preface*, levelled againſt the Government of the Church by Biſhops, and indeed againſt Church-Government in general, (ſo unhappy were ſtill thoſe Men in their Plots againſt *Rome*) as there will be occaſion further to conſider in this Diſcourſe, and which make up that bulky Volume the World is enrich'd withall, and to all which *Andrew Rivet* has ſubſcrib'd, applauding *Salmaſius* in this particular and according with him, and thinks it Crime enough in *Grotius*, that he differs from him, *Grotianæ Diſcuſſ. Βλανοι, Sect.* 1. 16. *John Dailee* his rage is nothing leſs, but rather more this way; and ſo is his induſtry too, that eminent Martyr *Ignatius* is diſcarded and turn'd out of the Catalogue of Church-Writers for Aſſerting in ſo plain and poſitive words the Divine perpetual Right of Epiſcopacy, and indiſpenſable Subjection and Obedience of all Chriſtians to their Power and Juriſdiction, that all his profuſer Criticiſms and conjectural Triflings cannot make a Pretence againſt, any ways baffle or evade him; and therefore his Epiſtles are rejected as ſpurious and counterfeit, are Condemned to the Fire, as the Holy Martyr himſelf was to the Beaſts; and which he endeavours more than to Martyr, to annihilate, paſſes his Sentence of perpetual oblivion and forgetfulneſs againſt them. Chap. 1.

Chap. 1. them. So Hereticks of old dealt with the Scriptures themselves. *Marcion* blotted out with his Pen and wholly erased what he could not evade or deny, what he could not by his Style and Expositions overthrow, *Macherâ non stylo usus est*; as *Tertullian* tells us in his Book of *Prescriptions against Hereticks*, cap. 19. whereas *Valentinus*, another Heretick, there spoke of; *Non ad materiam Scripturas, sed materiam ad Scripturas excogitavit*, blotted not out, but brought the Scriptures to himself, *Proprietates verborum auferens*, wresting and perverting of them; and which of the two, took from, and really did more violence to the Scriptures, there is no occasion at present to enquire; though *Tertullian* gives it to the latter; for the Person we at present have to deal with, is guilty of both. Those two notorious Hereticks seem to survive in him at once, nor has he with less tricks of words, evaded the sence of him and others, then with a resolved Contumacy, at last quite blotted out the Writing of that most Holy and Apostolical Person; nor will it abate much of his guilt, or can I be much accused in making the Parallel betwixt him and two such notorious Hereticks, and whose Objects were the Scriptures themselves; for the Method is as natural, and the same Hand and Pen is equally ready for the one as the other, and the Canonical Epistles themselves have had the same usage, as had by him these of *Ignatius*, when standing in the way, and this by some of his own design and complexion. And how he hath dealt with our own Church in particular, and much after the same Nature, in

in many things not diſtinguiſhing her Practices, from the depraved uſages of *Rome*, and particularly in Point of Government, by Arch-Biſhops, Metropolitans and Biſhops, is to be ſeen in his Book *De Cultu Romanorum*; and has been lately obſerved and reported to the World by a moſt Faithful and Learned Hand in another Language. I cannot ſay, but ſometimes, even theſe very Men appear more civil towards us, and paſs upon us high and mighty Complements, and their Practice is not ſo rude as their Determinations are rigorus upon us; nor do they approve our unruly Diſſenters and Peace-breakers in point of Government, though their Documents and Principles ſuch our home-Schiſmaticks, receive and Copy out from them, and whoſe Autority we are ſtill urged withal; though what they would do, were they as ſecure, as *Blondel* thought himſelf in 1646. when he dedicated his Apology to the then Rebellious Parliament, and Aſſembly-men, is another queſtion; what manner of Spirit his was then, has been already declared; and what perſonal Aſperſions, and loads of Calumnies he laid, as upon the Cauſe it ſelf, ſo upon the preſent Biſhops, will appear from that often-forced Apology of our learned Doctor *Hammond*, for their Innocency and Integrity, in his Anſwer to him, *Diſſert.* 1ª *contra Blondel*, cap. 12. ſect. 22. *In hac unica Hierarchicorum doctrina adeò totum Antichriſtum exhibiſſe cenſeatur, ut in hoc unum erroris Pelagus alia omnia Acherontis oſtia ſe effudiſſe, aut quidquid in illius Seculi Eccleſia peccatum ab Hereticis fuit, illud ſtatim in Epiſcopis hujus ævi puniendum videatur*; or whether Chap. 1.

Chap. 1. ther it may return again, God knows: All the Progreſs we have made yet, ſeems to be but this; we have and ſtill do pity and bemoan that ſtate of theirs, as ſad and to be lamented, which they have, and do ſtill account their Goſpel-Simplicity, and Perfection, Plead that Neceſſity for them, which they deny and wilfully perſiſt in, which provokes back again, only their Pity for us, not to ſay their Scorn and Contempt; for ſo it has by ſome of them been return'd upon us, and by the moſt favourable we are beheld as well-meaning, but ignorant men; ſo *Gerſom Bucer* plainly tells Biſhop *Downham*, in his Anſwer to the Sermon, *Pag.* 594. our own Pleas and Arguments, by Complyance and Condeſcenſions to and for them is managed and retorted upon our ſelves; and not by them only, but, and which is the greater diſadvantage has come to us by it, by our own Members, and within the Pale of our Communion, and the great popular prevailing Argument, that Epiſcopacy is not Eſſential to Church-Government, is this, becauſe our Charity, hopes and concludes the beſt of them; that God's Mercy through their ſincerity and upright meaning, may ſupply the defect they are under, and endeavouring all we can to juſtifie them, we have been diſabled to juſtifie our ſelves: This hath been the plain caſe all along with us; the words of our Learned Biſhop *Taylor* are apt to this in his Treatiſe called *Epiſcopacy Aſſerted*, Sect. 32. and may not unduly be here inſerted, "For we were "glad at firſt of Abettors againſt the Errors "of the *Roman* Church; we found theſe Men "Zea-

"Zealous in it, we thanked God for it (as Chap. 1.
"we had cauſe) and we were willing to make
"them recompence, by endeavouring to juſti-
"fie their Ordinations, not thinking what
"would follow upon our ſelves; but now it
"is come to that iſſue, that our Epiſcopacy
"is thought not neceſſary, becauſe we did
"not condemn the Ordinations of their Pres-
"bytery. And even at this day, after ſo thorow a debate by Monſieur *Dailee* and Biſhop *Pearſon*, they may have abated ſomewhat of that rigorous Practice in *France*, that juſt now named learned Biſhop in that his Treatiſe, tells us was once in uſe amongſt them, That if any one returns to them, they will re-ordain him by their Presbytery, though he had before Epiſcopal Ordination; and for which he refers us to *Danæus*, Part 2. *Iſagog. lib.* 2. *cap.* 22. *Perron. Repl. fol.* 92. *Impreſſ.* 1605. but the reſult on their ſide is only this, and 'tis no further than *Beza* and *Gerſom Bucer* had gone before, *inſalubrior eſt*, as *Bucer* ſpeaks, in his Anſwer to Biſhop *Downham*'s Sermon, *Pag.* 18. 255. 6. and tells us, That the ſame is the opinion of *Beza*, it is leſs advantageous, that our Government, though but a meer Humane Invention, is what may be born with; its yoke may be endured, by thoſe that are under it, *Et quamvis Epiſcoporum eminentiam ſupra Presbyteros Inſtitutionis eſſe merè humanæ firmiſſimè credam, præſtat tamen meo judicio regimen illud Epiſcopale patienter ferre*, &c. So the late Replyer to Biſhop *Pearſon*, and Doctor *Beveridge*, *Dailee* the Son, as 'tis thought, *Obſervat. in Ignatianas Pearſonis Vindicias, in Præfatione*; and after

Chap. I. after all their gilded Phraſes, Pompous words, and higher Eulogies, I never could find that any one of them ever has given us any more; the late two Printed Epiſtles from *Paris*, I am ſure, do not. But I ceaſe here, and return to my firſt Subject.

§. XII. ALL they can with any ſhew of Truth or Reaſon pretend for the People at Ordinations to have to do, is only this, to be Diſcoverers of the Evil, and Witneſſes of the Good Lifes and Converſations of ſuch as are to be received into the Miniſtry; this we find the uſe of them in *Juſtinian* the Emperor's days, *Novel. 6. cap. 1. Ut dicat ſi noverit an Ordinandus conſcius ſit illicitorum, & de quibus inquiſitio Publicè eſt faciendâ*; to declare what he knew of the Perſon to be Ordained, and as enquiry ſhall be made of him, *Lay hands ſuddenly on no man, neither be Partaker of other mens ſins*, 1 Tim. 5. 22. The meaning is, that *Timothy* proceed not in the Execution of Church-Power, or of his Epiſcopal Office, but with deliberation, upon a juſt ſearch and enquiry, a due information in all Circumſtances, that every thing be as it ought; otherwiſe he partakes of the Sins are occaſioned thereby, and they are his own, and their guilt adheres unto him. Now though St. *Paul*'s or St. *Timothie*'s own knowledge of the Perſon to be Ordained, by their nearer Relation, ſtricter Converſe, and Perſonal Inſpection, might be ſatisfaction ſufficient to themſelves, and no man can be ſo mad as to think ſuch an Ordination to be invalid; ſelf-inſpection and notoriety of the Fact has ſtill been accounted Ground and Motive ſufficient for Publick Pro-

Proceedings; but then, this by how much it is more private, ſo much it is leſs ſatisfactory to others; and for the Evidence to come from abroad, a Teſtimony from without, is more agreeable and more clearing, and of whom ſo properly as from the People? the Neighbourhood, as eye-witneſſes of his Converſation? And it was upon the common courſe of Proceedings what Saint *Peter* propoſed before the Conſecration of *Matthias* (*Petrus ad Plebem loquitur, Cypr. Ep.* 68.) and which was to the People, to the Believers all in common; that out of thoſe Men that accompanied them, and was well known unto them, all the time that the Lord Jeſus went in and out among them, of which they were eye-witneſſes, whoſe Application of themſelves to Holy Things, and conſtant Induſtry, made them fit for ſo high an Office, *an Apoſtle ſhould be choſen*, Acts 1. That the Seven Deacons be Men of good Report, and this atteſted by them that knew them, e're the Apoſtles lay their hands upon them, *Acts* 6. that *Timothy* be well reported by the Brethren, *Acts* 16. 2. And ſo again of the Biſhop, that he have a *good report of them that are without*, i. e. *Heathens*, 1 Tim. 3. 7. and all which muſt be done ſuitable to the Converſe he uſes, and as the Subject renders capable of it; but that therefore the chief Intereſt ſhould be in the People, (I now uſe the words of Mr. *Thorndicke*, in his Book of the *Laws of the Church*, pag. 154.) is an Imagination too brutiſh; "Cannot the Apoſtles finding themſelves to "Ordain Perſons ſo and ſo qualified; for "ſuch and ſuch Offices in the Church, appeal "to Chap. I.

Chap. 1. "to the People, whom they acknowledge so "and so qualified? Cannot St. *Paul* after- "wards provide that no man shall blame "them in the dispensing the Power that they "are entrusted with, 2 *Cor.* 8. 20. but a "consequence must thereupon be inferr'd "against themselves, that they are comman- "ded by God, to refer the things concerning "the Salvation of God's People in general; "as the Power of an Apostle, the Order of "a Deacon, *&c.* to the temerity and giddi- "ness of the People? Nor does all those bulky Collections made by *Blondel* for the Clergy and People being consulted, in re- lity amount to any more, *In ordinationibus mos erat Plebem & Clerum consulere, & mores & merita Singulorum Communi Consilio ponde- rare, Cypr. Ep.* 33. *Episcopum & Collegarum & Plebis testimonio Probatum, Ep.* 41. only to give Testimony to their Manners and Me- rit, of which the Persons receiving it, and to Consecrate and assign to such a People, were always Judges; *Ad eam Plebem cui Pra- positus Ordinatur*; Nothing was left to the People in appointing their Pastor, he was only sent out in their Presence; and what he brings out of the 68 Epistle of St. *Cyprian*, is only more plain if possible, and a fuller Evidence against his conceit; the design of that whole Epistle being this, That vitious Men be not received into the Church, and admitted to attend at the Altar; and to that purpose, that no Ordination be made but in Publick, *Ne indignus obreperet*; that a full account may be taken of their Lifes and Con- versations, and that it be not *Secundum humana-*

nam

nam Præsumptionem, upon Presumptions only, Chap. I.
but a full Evidence; and this is most likely to be had from the People, or those with whom they had lived, and their Power there asserted, *Vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi*, cannot be allowed to amount to any more, if consistent with the design of the Epistle; nor can there be any thing in the People like the Power of a Judge, to refuse or reject; but as Informers and Petitioners, by way rather of Prayer and Postulation, upon the Plea of what Testimonies they could Produce, or what Accusations they had against them, and according to the Determinations of the Bishops that nominated and proposed him, and who lay hands upon him, is the Person fixed in his Station, *De Episcoporum qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo apud vos literas fecerant, judicio, Episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei in loco Basilidis imponeretur*, ibid. Ep. 68. Much more to this purpose is to be seen in *Cyprian*, and all which is apply'd by *Grotius* to this purpose, *De Imper. Sum. Potest. in Sacris*, cap. 10. sect. 9. or rather, and which Autority is much greater, this Church Rule, and proceeding in Elections, and Ordinations of Bishops is to be seen in the Fourth Canon of the First Council of *Nicea*, and which is there appointed to be done by all the Bishops of the Province; or, because all may not be capable of Convening, by Three at the least, the others sending their Suffrages, and then to be Confirmed by the Metropolitan. Where to be sure, whatever of the Peoples concurrency, or rather, anteceding Testimonies,

Chap. I. was required, the ultimate and alone Power is in the Clergy, and 'tis *Balsamon*'s Opinion upon that Canon, That the Canon was made purely in relation to the People, to exclude them quite, upon the account of the inconveniences they found by their Presence; and which adds to what I have already observed, That the Peoples concurrency in Ordinations is so far from being of their Essence, and altogether requisite, that it depended all along, upon the Canons and Laws of the Church, to approve or null them; or if the Votes of the People did at any time prevail and over-rule, it was upon special Accidents, to avoid Tumults and Disorders, to prevent a greater Mischief, or by too much Condescension of the Bishops, or by particular Grants and Priviledges to such places, which the same Power did and might take away again, an antecedent perpetual Right, is no way to be inferr'd from either, and particularly by *David Blondel*, who over-rules in other Cases, when against him, upon the same Considerations, *Apolog. Pag.* 541.

§. XIII. AND that all this depends upon *Divina Præcepta*, *Divina Præscriptio*, *Dominicis Præceptis*, *Divina Magisteria*, *Traditione Divina*, *Apostolica Observatione*, *Deificam Disciplinam*; and that the contrary is, *Secundum humanam Præsumptionem*, as St. *Cyprian* all along Phrases it in that 68 Epistle, is what every one will grant; nor is there any such thing gain'd by it, on *Blondel*'s side, as he thinks there is, he many times repeating and insisting on these like Expressions; for no man sure will question this to be the Command and Appointment

pointment of God, that no one be receiv'd into the Publick Imployments of the Church, but such as are approved and attested to be Men fit for so great a Charge, and high Office, and it amounts to no more than that Caution of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, *Lay hands suddenly on no man*; nor is there any Nomination of a Bishop to his See, which is not made Publick to the whole Kingdom, and his Election as much made known in his Dioceſs, by notices affixed on his Cathedral; that if any man have an Accuſation againſt him, he come and object, and then the Clergy in the preſence of the People go on to Election; and the ſame is obſerved at the Ordinations of Presbyters and Deacons, who are not, and ought not, to be received, but upon Publick Teſtimony, and which are Ordained, at the four Ember-Weeks; if Canonically, or publick times of the year, where every Body has the liberty of acceſs, and to ſpeak at pleaſure, and which is repreſented, as the very courſe preſcribed by the Apoſtles in this 68 Epiſtle, and recommended as the Practice of many Churches, *Propter quod diligenter de Traditione Divinâ & Apoſtolicâ obſervatione obſervandum eſt & tenendum, quod apud nos quoque & ferè per Provincias univerſas tenetur, ut ad Ordinationes rite Celebrandas, ad eam Plebem cui præpoſitus Ordinatur, Epiſcopi ejuſdem Provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, & Epiſcopus delegatur Plebe præſente, quæ Singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & unuſquiſque actum de ejus Converſatione proſpexit*; That the Neighbouring Clergy Convene, and the Biſhop be aſſigned in the preſence of the People; and Chap. 1.

Chap. 1. to which agrees St. *Jerome*'s peculiar Notion of χειροτονία, and which to be sure is Argument sufficient of the Church's Practice in the Case in his days. That the Hands of the Ordainer were extended, stretcht out, lay open and abroad, at Ordinations, *Ne scilicet vocis imprecatio Clandestina, Clericos ordinet nescientes, non lene enim peccatum, Ordinationem Clericatus nequaquam Sanctis, & in lege Dei doctissimis, sed asseclis suis tribuere, & viliùm Officiorum Ministris, quamquam his dedecorosius est muliercularum precibus. Comment. in Isai.* 58. to make them publick, and divulge them; lest being secret, ignorant Clerks may be Ordained, it being a great Sin to lay hands on such as are not Holy and very Learned, on their Pages and viler Officers; but most of all it is dishonorable and disgraceful, when Ordinations are procured by the requests and assignations of Women. And it were otherwise unpracticable, if all the Clergy of whole Provinces were, as by the indispensable Appointment of God, and under peril of voiding the whole Action, to meet in Person at each Consecration, and as unserviceable too, much more for the numerous, or rather, innumerable Multitudes; The Nature of things requires some particular appearances, nor can the whole be supposed to be a competent witness of their Lifes and Conversations; it is sufficient that every one has time and opportunity to implead as occasion, or at least may have it, if he'll seek after it, and which he ought to do, if he knows a just exception, and indeed business cannot be done otherwise, Universals are nothing;

nothing; they subsist only in Conceit, and a digestion of the Brain; 'tis the Individuation makes Action, and the People in general, if not reduced to some Orders and Station, will be only a confused heap, each Body be *Cyclopian*, each Assembly become a Riot, fill'd only with disorder and astonishment; and the popular Elections of Bishops came so near to it at last, that they could be no longer permitted. Chap. I.

§. XIV. NOR does *D. Blondel* acquit himself with more Candor and Ingenuity, when contending for the Right of the People, or believers as such, and in common, in electing and assigning each Presbyter and Deacon to his particular Title and Parish, of which such the Electors are Members, the division of Parishes being but of late, as he does acknowledge; and when it was otherwise, the Bishop had still the Power of sending out the Presbyters in the execution of their Ministerial Office, as was the Harvest, as Occasion and his Prudence saw fit; nor has he any Practice, either Apostolical or of 12 Centuries after, that the People still placed and fixed their own Minister, to infer his Divine and Immutable Right from it. Sure I am, when *Paul* and *Barnabas*, were to be separated to a peculiar Ministry, and Service in the Church; 'Twas the Clergy, the Prophets and Teachers (that we know of) sent them away, to a People unknown, as to their faces, *Acts* 13. and which he thinks so great a Crime; nor is there any thing after produced against it. And himself does acknowledge, that the Presbyters and Deacons were not substituted by

Chap. 1. the People; but the Bishops (whose indeed Curates they are) for this Thousand years downwards; and it will very hardly be found a sufficient proof for its Illegality, to say there was no Controversie moved about it before; and therefore it was otherwise, but not mentioned, or in his nauseous, impious, precarious, usual manner of speaking, when any thing of this nature pinches him, that it was from the Pride and Usurpation, *fastus indomabilis* (Pag. 64.) of the Bishops, and yet he exclaims as if all Religion lay at stake, a thorow Degeneracy and Dissolution, both in People and Clergy, they all become negligent and contemned of one another; all the disorder, ill manners and failures in Duty is imputed to this one thing, whatever inconveniencies in Church are observable (and always some there will be) all hence arise, that the People have not the choosing or refusal of him that is to officiate among them, have only the opportunity of bewailing with their Tears a vacancy upon Death, but not of repairing it; that *Odor priscæ Disciplinæ*, the Primitive Proceedings being gone, become even a stink to the Nostrils of a looser Age; the immutable fixed Rule of Christ laid aside and broken, or in plain terms, according to the Genius and Complexion of these Men observed already; because all the well-setled duly constituted Churches in Christendom do not dissolve and fall in pieces, are not framed anew into the accidental necessitous Model, of a private *French* Congregation. And surely the contrary to all this is most true, there can be nothing more

more fatal to Chriſtianity, than to have a Power of Subſtitution of the Clergy to their ſeveral Charges put into the hands of the People, that the Power of Miſſion and Approbation of ſuch as are to ſerve at the Altar, be taken from the Clergy, nothing can reflect more upon the Wiſdom of our Saviour, as the Law-giver; and who has therefore gone quite another way, and the Biſhops and Paſtors are made Guides, Inſpectors, Rulers, Teachers of, not in Subſtitution and Deputation from the People; nothing can go more croſs and contradictory to the Nature of things, as that the Sheep ſhould approve of and appoint their Shepheard, ſuch as have wholly deſign'd themſelves to the particular Study, ſhould be the worſt Judges in the Science, leaſt know and be able to judge what Perſons are fit to propagate and promote their own Profeſſion; and all this put into the hands of Novices and Ignaro's, who are not, who cannot be ſuppoſed to have any Skill for inſpection into it; no more and greater ſign of his *faſtus indomabilis*, the worſt ſort of Pride, and irrecoverable pertinacy, than that ſuch a ſort ſhould any ways deſire, or pretend ſuch a Power, or preſume themſelves fit for it; no greater diſrepute to Religion, than that thoſe which are really leaſt to be eſteemed in the Church, ſhould thus have Judgment, and alone Judgment, in the things of the higheſt concern, a Power to canvaſs againſt, and determine upon the eminenteſt Profeſſors of it; nothing but a degeneracy in Knowledge and Manners, the profoundeſt Ignorance, and deepeſt Immo- Chap. 1.

Chap. 1. rality can attempt it, the whole World must be ſtupid and ſottiſh, lay aſide all Senſe of relations and dependency, be ſunk down together below its Orb, *Suaq; in integrum reſtitutionis penitùs obliviſci* (the words of *Blondel* are proper here) loſe all Capacities of but remembring what is fit and decent, be paſt all hopes of a reſtitution and amendment.

§. XV. AND ſurely then, that Plea which is thus unreaſonable, groundleſs, and every ways impertinent for the Power of the People in Electing and Subſtituting the Biſhop or Presbyter in their ſeveral Stations, for the diſcharge of their Functions; will render more contemptible yet another Plea many aſſume and urge for the Power in the People, in the Decitions of Matters of Faith, and Determinations and fixing Indifferencies, in order to preſent Peace and Practice. And where we know the Laity have Convened with the Clergy, as in the firſt Council of *Jeruſalem* and others ſince, they were ſtill bound up and limited. Nor can they, but with much leſs reaſon, challenge any more here, than in being preſent at Elections and Ordinations; that upon the perſonal Hearing and View, (ſuch as deſire it) may be ſatisfied of the juſtneſs of all Proceedings, that no man ſhould blame them in diſpenſing that Power they are intruſted with, and others to ſubmit unto, 2 *Cor.* 2. 20. and moſt precarious is that of admitting Lay-Elders, and their Perſonal neceſſary concurrency in the Acts and Execution of Government in the Church, certain particular Lay-Perſons, as

ſharers

ſharers with the Paſtors in the Juriſdiction, Chap. 1.
the gifts of Knowledge, Underſtanding, *&c.* are common to all, *i. e.* none are denied them, but ſuch as deny them themſelves, by their own Negligence and Non-improvement; or by a firſt defect in Nature have them not, and a promiſcuous admiſſion into Debates and rational Deciſions is allowable; but Church-Power, in the governing judiciary part of it, is from without, and whoever Claims it, muſt evidence the Devolution, and Deputation, how they were firſt brought into the Church, and in what Exigence: Our Judicious Mr. *Hooker* relates at large, that they have ſince been ſet up by Divine Immutable Right, ſhews only what the Projects and Intereſts and Ambition of Men, can wreſt and pervert Scripture unto, and where ſomething of Mens own is lay'd and deſign'd; (for ſo Schiſmaticks and Hereticks are defin'd, *De two infers.* So *Tertullian* to *Apelles*, *Lib. de Carne Chriſti*, *cap.* 7. *Marcion ſuum*, *lib.* 4. *Adverſ. Marcion. cap.* 7.) Something like truth, will be alledged in defence of it; and ſurely there is as little for this, as ever was urged in behalf of any Sect whatever; the once Zealous Abettors of it in this Church and Kingdom, could not themſelves believe what they pleaded for with ſo much ſhew of Zeal, and known Violence, and their deſign was only, Βαῦις μβραν, as 'tis ſaid the Gentiles did againſt the Chriſtians in *Euſebius*, with clamorous Noiſes to make a ſhew of the want of ſomething, to make greater the Rupture they contended for; *Omnia pro tempore nihil pro veritate*, as *Optatus* has obſerv'd

Chap. 1. ſerv'd of their elder Brethren the Donatiſts, *Lib.* 1. *Cont. Parme.* to ſerve not Truth, but the preſent diſorder by it; and it has the Fate of other inordinate Teachings, time makes them ceaſe and wear out. Nor is this Platform of Lay-Elders, the *Palladium* they now contend for, or in the Catalogue of thoſe Grievances and Imperfections are complain'd of. Surely there might be Governments and Helps in the Church, and Elders, which were no Lay-men; and 'tis no where ſaid in Scripture they were; and as certain it is again, there's no after-practice, either Apoſtolical or of Ten ſucceeding Centuries, in which the perpetual immutable Divine Right of it is to be bottomed, as *D. Blondel* has pleaded for their right of Election and Subſtitution of ſuch as ſerve at the Altar, but with what Succeſs has already appear'd. Beſides, the ill effect of the Schiſm in general to the firſt raiſing of which, and after Promotion it concurr'd. This particular ill it occaſioned and left among us, that the Divines of thoſe Ages, in which the Aimers at this Platform of ruling Elders ſo much ſtrove for it, as in the days of Queen *Elizabeth* eſpecially, ſhew'd their greater, juſt Zeal in expoſing thoſe their unreaſonable Claims of their Conſiſtories, to Summon Kings and Arraign them at pleaſure, *In Ordine ad Deum*, and in defending the Rights of the Civil Power; and were leſs careful in ſtating the true Rights of the Chriſtian Church, as diſtinct from the Magiſtrates Power, and which is now to be examined and diſcourſed in this following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

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This Power is not in the Prince. The Child Jeſus is Anointed Lord and Chriſt, with all Power given him in order to Heaven, to continue in the Goſpel-Prieſthood to the end of the World. Sect. 1.

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Their particular Power neceſſarily infer not one another: The Prieſt as ſuch, is no more a King, than the King as ſuch, is a Prieſt, than a good Man is always knowing, or the Deſpotical and Regal Power go together. The mixing theſe ſeveral diſtinct Gifts and Powers, is the inlet to all diſorder. The King and Prieſt have been brought to a Morſel of Bread by it. Sect. 3.

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The

Chap. 2. *The Church founded only, and ſubſiſting in and by Chriſt and his Apoſtles.* Sect. 6.

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And the ſame do the Ancient Councils all along; ſeparating themſelves from κοσμικὰ διακόσια, *the* ἔξωθεν ἐξουσίας. Sect. 13.

This is not the Senſe of the Biſhops only in their own behalf; and which is the Atheiſtical popular Plea and Objection, the Cruelty of the French *Reformers.* Sect. 14.

The Emperors own and ſubmit unto it, as Conſtantine, *though miſunderſtood by* Blondel, Valentinianus, Juſtinian, Theodoſius, Leo, *&c.* Sect. 15, 16.

Blondel *owns all this, and yet does not underſtand it.* Sect. 17.

All

All this farther appears from the Laws and Proceedings of the Empire and the Church; as in the two Codes, Novels and Constitutions, from our Church Histories. Photius Nomocanon. Sect. 18. Chap. 2.

This farther appears from the Power of the Empire in Councils; and particularly that so much talked of Instance in Theodosius. *Sect.* 19.

From their Power exercised on Hereticks. Heresie is defined to be such by the Bishops. Sect. 20.

In Ordinations. Sect. 21.

Church-Censures. Mr. Selden's Jus Cæsareum, *relates only to the outward Exercise of the* Jewish *Worship, and comes up exactly to our Model. The state then of the* Jews *answers this of Christianity.* Sect. 22.

The Christian Emperors never Excommunicated in their own Persons, or by their own Power. Mr. Selden *says they did. His Forgeries detected. His ridiculous account of Holy Orders from* Gamaliel. *He was a Rebel of* 1642. *Design'd a Cheat on the Crown, when annexing to it the Priesthood.* Sect. 23.

What the Empire made Law relating to Religion, was first Canon, or consented to by the Clergy. Nothing the Empires alone but the Penalty. So Honorius *and* Theodosius, Valentinian *and* Marcian, Zeno *and* Leo. *Sect.* 24, 25.

No need of present Miracles to Justifie this Power; to Assert it does not affront Magistrates. 'Tis always to be own'd before them, Dr. Tillotson's *Sermon on this bottom* Arianism *was of old opposed against* Constantius; *That this Power ceased when the*

Chap. 2. *the Empire became Christian is a tattle; It receiv'd many Advantages, but no one Diminution thereby.* Sect. 26.

§. 1. THIS Power of the Church, or Power Ecclesiastical, it is not in the Prince, issues and flows not from the Secular Temporal Governor, he is not the Subject of it; he is in himself neither Bishop nor Pastor, can neither officiate in the high Affairs of Salvation, nor ordain, substitute and depute others to do it; 'tis no Duty of his, this way to Teach and Instruct the People; the Holy Sacraments are not Administred, nor can the Church Censures be executed by him. Great and vast is the Power committed by God to Kings here on Earth, peculiar is their Power, and none else may have, none else can Plead a title to it; 'tis the nearest to Infinite of any Devolution vouchsafed from the Heavens to Mankind, and the most of his Image is Characterized and enstamped on their Persons, communicated in the largest measure unto them, and God hath own'd them all along as such in Scripture, suitably severed, and separated them from the rest of Mankind, placed them ἐν ὑπεροχῇ in the higher places of the Earth, next himself in the Honors and Dignities here, above and beyond any other Order and Dignity of men whatever; *a Kingdom, and Majesty, and Glory, and Honor, by the most high God is given unto thee*, Dan. 5. 18. but yet these are not the only Separates he has upon Earth, his alone Anointed and that to Publick Offices and Services; thus he had his Priests of old, and whose

whoſe Perſons and Power was ſeparate too, Chap. 2.
Non eſt tuum O Ozia adolere Deo ſed Sacerdotum, 2 Chron. 26. 18. *It appertaineth not unto thee, O* Uzziah, *to burn incenſe to the Lord, but to the Prieſts, the Sons of* Aaron, *that are conſecrated to burn incenſe, go out of the Sanctuary, for thou haſt treſpaſſed, neither ſhall it be for thine honor, from the Lord thy God*; There is one *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, a Man approved of by God, and by his right hand exalted; the Holy Child *Jeſus*, whom he hath Anointed, whom he raiſed from the Dead, and made both Lord and Chriſt. God who at ſundry times, and in divers manners, ſpake in times paſt to the Fathers, by the Prophets, hath in theſe laſt days ſpoke unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed Heir of all things too, and who is alſo the Image of his Perſon, who hath all Power in Heaven and Earth given unto him, a Power to *Teach and Baptize all Nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*; a Power for the managery of the things, not of the Men of the Earth, but of their Souls and Perſons for Heaven, a Power above that of Angels; but not to tread upon Thrones and Scepters of Princes, contemn Dignities, which Angels durſt not do: a Kingdom though not of this World, yet a true one, once given him of God, and again to be delivered up by him to the Father, *who is the head of his Body the Church*, Coloſ. 1. 18. contrary to whom as we are not to ſet up, and be beguiled by Angels, ſo neither Kings nor Princes, and not hold faſt the head, *from which all the body, by joynts and bands, having nouriſhment miniſtred,*

Chap. 2. *minister'd, and knit together, increase in the increase of God*, Col. 2. 18, 19. Nursing Fathers Kings and Queens are to be of the Church; but the Government it self is laid upon another, upon the Shoulders of this Child, and Son, born and given unto us, *Isa.* 9. 6. and which they are to nourish, to protect and preserve, with their Temporal Government and Scepters; a Generative, Procreative Power is not in them. This Power given by the Father to the Son, was in part and some instances of it, finish'd in his own Person upon Earth, in part, and other instances he is now managing in Heaven, what was to remain here among us after his Ascension, was to be given to whomsoever the Son pleased; this he deputed and committed to his Apostles, some of which Power was to dye with their Persons, was extraordinary and temporary only, or at the most survived in some few only after them, and during a small time, what was designed, and universally useful for all Mankind, and for the lasting perpetual managing us in order to Heaven, to continue to the end of the World; and in the execution and discharge of which, our Saviour has promised to be *with us always unto the end of the World*; this was all transferred, and devolved by the Apostles, on their Successors in the Evangelical Priesthood, the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons of the Church; it was not demandated to Kings and Secular Powers, which then and for some Hundred years after, only Persecuted all that followed after that way, and call'd upon that Name, before whom they appeared

peared only as Dlinquents; if they came be- Chap. 2.
fore them, it was for a *Mittimus* to the Goal, or as men appointed to be slain, not for Commissions and Substitutions to Preach the Gospel; and this is the state of the World at this day, thus stand the Powers in it, divided betwixt the King and the Priest, each moving in his proper Sphere, by virtue of his special particular Grant from Heaven, and managing the two great Affairs of Heaven and Earth, the Body and Soul, both of so high a concern unto us.

THAT both these Powers have been resi- §. II.
ding at once in one and the same Subject, and Person, 'tis most certain; and so it may be again, by a conflux of Providences, or the immediate pleasure of him whose the Powers originally are, and can give to the Sons of men as he pleases, nothing but dissonant, much more repugnant, in it; the King has been a Priest too, not only with Power and Autority, in order to Holy Things and Persons, a due Behaviour and Discharge in, and of them, περὶ τῶν θείων, περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμέλειαν, as *Aristotle* speaks, *Lib.* 3. *Polit. cap.* 10, 11. τὰς πολίτας ἀγαθὰς ποιῆν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ὑπηκόους, to make them good Citizens and obedient to Laws, πρὸς τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν to engage their Souls to Virtue, by Rewards and Penalties, *cap.* 13. but the Prince has had that Power which is purely and strictly Hieratical, and of the Priestly Office, ἡ καθ' ἱερωσύνην, as *Aristotle*, cap. 10. abovementioned, *Rex Amnis*, *Rex idem Phœbiq*; *Sacerdos*; and that such, as of the Priestly Order, have had also the Secular Power conjoyned and annexed to

Chap. 2. it, it is most certain in all manner of History; for Evidence of which, I'le only refer such as can enquire, to Mr. *Selden*'s First Book *De Synedriis*, cap. 15. *Hugo Grotius* is of Opinion, that the Priesthood was seldom found without some Secular Power added unto it, in his Treatise *De Sum. Potest. Imper. in Sacris, Cap. 9. Sect.* 4. 30. And the ancient Canons of the Church imply, that it was much in Use, for the Clergy to be engaged in the Affairs of the World, as appears by their several Cautions and Commands against it; the Circumstances of the then present Church, and particular Reasons moving them to it. So *Can. Apost.* 81. 84. *Can.* 11. *Concil.* 1, 2. *Constantinop. Can.* 16. 18. *Concil. Carthag.* The King and the Priest, as they are of the same Original, so are both designed for the same great End and Purpose for the Care and Promotion, Protection and Preservation of the Honor of God, his Worship and Service, in the ways of Virtue and Holiness, and Obedience to his Institutions, for the benefit of Mankind both here and hereafter, and suitably have their names promiscuously and in common, in Ecclesiastical Writers. Thus *Constantine* many times calls himself a Bishop, and by other Greek Writers is he called ἰσαπόστολος, equal to an Apostle. Many of these are to be seen in *Petrus de Marca, de Concord. Sacerd. & Imperii, l.* 2. *c.* 10. *Sect.* 6, 7. *Valentinian* and *Marcian* the Emperors are styled *Inclyti Apostoli*, famous Apostles; and *Constantine*'s *Animus Sacerdotalis* is mention'd and applauded in a Publick Council, *(Vid. Observat. & Notas, in Paniten-*

Panitentiale Theodori Cant. Archiep. pag. 138.) with several Compellations of the like Nature; And which Considerations, or rather undue Consideration of these, gives some little glosse upon their Error, who fix the full Power of the Priesthood in the Prince, renders it somewhat more plausible than that of theirs who place it in the People; but the Truth is no more in reality on the one side, than on the other. These are given partly by way of Complement, Magnificent Title, or higher Eulogies, not unusual to the Eminencies of such Personages, as they honored and protected Religion, to transfer upon them the Honors that go along with it, of what value in themselves it matters not, so be the best it hath. Or where it has nearer answer'd the thing it self, *Constantine* himself has shew'd, in what Nature and Instances, in the Fourth Book of his Life wrote by *Eusebius*, cap. 24. *Vos*, speaking to the Bishops, *in iis quæ intra Ecclesiam Episcopi estis, Ego vero in iis quæ extra geruntur.* And again, *Ibid.* the Historian also speaks to the same purpose, *Episcopus quasi Episcoporum erat* Constantinus, *& Curam habuit ut sint pii*; both which amount but to thus much, That *Constantine's* Episcopacy only consisted in his outward care of the Church, and promotion of the Duties that belong unto her, it reacheth not to the inward Power, the τὰ ἐσωτέρω or ἐσωτέρω, the Sacred Function or Office it self. Chap. 2.

§. III. AND here now is the great Enquiry, and this the main Case in Debate amongst us in this unhappy Age of ours. Whether the Kingly and Priestly Offices and Charges immediate-

Chap. 2. ly in their Natures and Constitutions imply and include each other? Not that they agree in one design, or more, in some Externals; but whether where the one is, there the other, as a necessary consequence, is at the same time, and by the same appointment, existing? and to which I am to answer in the Negative; as to be a Priest has never inferr'd, a Secular Power, so nor to be a Prince the Spiritual. For the full clearing of this point it will be necessary first to consider the Nature of Gifts, Duties, Offices and Power in general, how far they include and infer one another; how far each one in it self is attainable, and from what Principle flowing; and 'tis a Consideration so absolutely necessary for whoso engages in this or such-like Debates, and their Resolutions, that he must otherwise be at a loss, and miss of the aim proposed. To Virtue and Goodness in general, there is in every Man an innate Power; he has Faculties concreated, and of his Constitution, σπέρματα ἐκείνως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his Περὶ Πλούτου, and this improveable by Industry and Care, Notices and Experiences, and God in course, as he incourages and preserves whatever is his own, gives more help: The Art of a Physitian and Skill of a Divine, are also attainable in the like way, by a Progress of Study and continued Observations, upon an hability, or first stock within; but this not equally given and ingrafted in each, as is a Power to Goodness, Wisdom, Knowledge is not to all. The Power of a Father over his Child is from God, by virtue and force of the relation laid in

in the foundation of it; becauſe begetting him, and by the general concourſe of Providence; the Power of a Husband over a Wife, and a Maſter over a Servant is by the appointment of God, upon a particular Covenant or Stipulation; the Power of Government and Juriſdiction in the greater extent; whether of a King in the State, or a Prieſt in the Church, enabling each to diſcharge the Publick Duties belonging to them, comes quite different from each before; 'tis by no improvement of Nature, or any thing within a Man, concreated, and a common concurſe of Providence contributes not; nor can common Notices, or whatever particular Induſtry and Experience attain unto it; no particular act of Man, whether Moral or Natural, is a foundation ſufficient for theſe greater relations, and higher inſtances of Power, whether of his Perſon apart, or by compact with others; 'tis, as always lodged in ſeveral Perſons, or when it was once in one and the ſame; ſo by diſcriminating marks, diſtinct ſymbols, in the conveyance, and appropriation, whereby to diſcern the one from the other, the Secular Power, by Deſcent, or Votes; or, in ſome inſtances, Conqueſt; the Spiritual, by the Deputations of the Biſhop, and the Acts and Offices are quite apart and different; (as is the deſign of this Diſcourſe to make fully appear) but in this they agree, and are as one; becauſe immediate from God, by a ſpecial concurſe and devolution, and ſo depoſited into particular hands and Perſons; no Force, no Virtue, no Compoſitions, or Overtures, in any Action or Performance, Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. formance, by any Person or Persons amounting to it; they are both highest Powers, in their kind and sphere; and 'tis something apart and solitary, and which none else have which makes them so, and consequently none else can give it them, because supposed not to have it; but only he, who is transcendently the highest, and eminently above all, and does, and can, give to each Son of Man as he pleases. And now, since each of these Gifts, and Offices and Powers, are attain'd to, convey'd and devolv'd, in several courses, methods and ways, one and the same Symbol, Compact or Act, does not produce and evidence their existence in and to the World, invest with the Power, instate in the Possession, enable and engage all men alike, to the attainment, the Duties and Offices of them; hence the Consequence is as clear in the course and chain of things, as it is in Matter of Fact, the Practice and known every day's Experience of the World, that they are not any, but two, much more all of them, in any one degree of Necessity; as to their coexistence, they do not any ways include, or infer each other; one Virtue, 'tis true, includes and infers another; and all Virtues, I speak of practical Virtues, *Bonum ex causa integrâ*, and Goodness is all of one chain, and where true in any one instance, is all together; but yet this Goodness, in the nature of it, includes not Wisdom and Knowledge, a Virtuous Man has not always the most Knowledge; nor where this Knowledge is, is it always Universal: To be a Divine is not to be a Physitian, or were it always Uni-

Universal, this infers no one branch of Power; *Solomon*'s poor Wife man had none at all, and so it may be with the richest and wisest, 'tis too often so; nor doth any instance of Autority and Power where existing, infer all other instances of it. To be the Husband of a Wife, is not therefore to be the Father of a Child; nor do Paternal and Despotick Government either, necessarily go together; to be a King indeed is usually to be all, but to be a Priest is oft to be neither; he is many times too poor to have Servants, and his Marriage is by some judg'd unlawful, at least by Church-Law forbidden; and every one says he ought not to be a King; to be sure he is not so because a Priest; nor is the King a Priest either because a King, they no more infer one another, than do any of the former two, or all of them; nor is their co-existence otherways necessary, than any of the other; they indeed were once united in the Worlds Infancy, and some Ages after, both seated in the first born; though by what special grant, we know not, the small account we have of those Ages hinders it; only I cannot agree with *Grotius De Imper. Sum. Potest. in Sacris, Cap.* 2. *Sect.* 4. that it was assumed by themselves, or that every man had a Natural right to it, and the Elder in the Family limited it to himself; but however it came there, it was afterwards severed by God himself, who took only the Tribe of *Levi* for his Service at the Altar, and governed in State, more by his own Person, (and therefore called Θεοκρατία) himself sometimes appearing and giving Laws, sometimes immediately raising up one, Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. and sometimes another to go in and out before his People; as from *Moses*, and in the days of the Judges, to King *Saul*. And, as I intimated before, these things not throughly considered and digested; these courses, and bonds and limits of Offices, and Gifts, and Powers, their Posts and Stages removed or taken down; if once these Land-marks be displaced, become promiscuous and common, making inrodes on one another, not only he will be at a loss that engages in the Debates and Resolutions in these cases, but Mankind it self, the Christian Part of the World to be sure, can no more continue in Peace, but with Invasions and Usurpations, Disorders and Confusions here upon Earth, than the earthy Globe it self, can subsist, or keep its *Equilibrium*, should the Elements of which it is made lose their Native qualities, and become blended together; or should its two Poles unite and kiss each other; and of this our own late Experience in our own particular Church and Kingdom, gives Testimony in abundance, when a pretence of Holiness, or the reality of it, was determined sufficient to invest in the Priesthood; the same Plea was concluded as good for the Crown, it staid not at the Pulpit, but went immediately to the Throne; all manner of Dominion was bottom'd in Grace alone, and their Saints were both the wisest upon Earth, and had all Power, were to Teach and to Rule, and to possess the Earth. All the links and contignations of Government were taken down, or burst in sunder; whether of the Father over his Child, or Husband over his Wife, or Master

Master over his Servant, or Sovereign over his Subjects, or Priest over the People; all were Christ's Freemen, and to be Servants to none; only the knack was found out at last, that the King was to be a Priest, when both King and Priest were first disabled; and their Autority, either in design or actually taken from them. The Bible it self was then put into his hands, with a Right to all Church-Offices, when the Right to his Liege Subjects was denied him, with a Power to make the Scriptures Canonical, and to discharge all its Duties, to lay limits by his Laws to Religion, though *a false one*, and it is not permitted *openly to draw Men off from the Profession of it*, (so Mr. *Dean* tells us in his Sermon) when to govern his Subjects by Law is Tyranny, and Usurpation: So advantageously is this new Honor and higher Dignity, that his entrance to the Priestly-Office, placed on him, and the consequence was only this, both King and Priest was brought to a Morsel of Bread, were brought to the Block, the Saints in the Right of their Power, cut off the Heads both of King *Charles* the First, & the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; the Father was against the Son, and the Son against the Father, as when the Sea-marks are removed, the Walls, & Water-locks and Floodgates are broken down, and pluckt up; this greater present deluge of professed Atheism, Prophaneness and Immorality is broken in upon us, over-spread the face of our Earth in the natural course and consequence of it; the Foundations are cast down, and what can the Righteous do? the *Romanists* will have their Pope to be a King, because Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. cauſe a Prieſt; theſe will have their King to be a Prieſt, and in effect no King; and 'twas only thoſe that either firſt deſign'd, or afterwards promoted, the taking his Crown from his Head, ſtuck this Feather in his Cap, as in the late unnatural Rebellion.

§. IV. NOR are thoſe more ſucceſsful who found the Pleas to the Prieſthood, in the Unction of Kings, or in that they are anointed at their ſolemner Inaugurations. God Almighty meant nothing leſs, when he ſaid, *Cyrus, Mine anointed*; nor do the outward Unctions of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, infer or prove any more, the Prieſts were equally anointed as they, and 'tis no more to be concluded that a King by virtue of his anointing hath the Power of a Prieſt, than that a Prieſt by his anointing hath the Power of a King, which two Sacred offices every body knows, were two quite different diſtinct things; though in many things they united, yet in ſeveral, they did, they might, not; it was Sacriledge on the one hand and Rebellion on the other, to attempt it. The Oyl that the Kings were anointed withal, was made of the ſame Unguents that *Moſes* had compounded to anoint both the Prieſts and the Holy Veſſels and the Altar, if we may believe *De Marca* in his ſecond Preface to his Treatiſe *De Concord.* &c. and had its effects but as deſign'd and apply'd to each in particular, and which ſuitably received thereby their ſeveral diſtinct Separations, for differing uſes, had their peculiar reſpects and Services conferr'd upon them; it did not imply all the Offices at once in the ſame either Thing or Perſon, and it

it may be as well ſaid, that the Holy Veſſels and Altar became Kings, as that the Kings became Prieſts, upon the alone general account of being anointed; but admit it had been otherwiſe under the *Jewiſh Polity*, and the King by his Unction had the full Extent and Latitude of Power and Offices conferr'd, by the Ceremony of Oyl, devolv'd and ſeated in him. What is this to us in the Chriſtian Church? under another Head, different Polity, and ſeveral Diſpenſation? or how doth it oblige us, that our Kings muſt be Prieſts, becauſe the Kings of *Iſrael* were once ſo? Surely no otherwiſe than it oblig'd the *Jews* that their firſt-born were to be either Kings or Prieſts or both, becauſe it was once ſo with their Anceſtors and Predeceſſors, and which is nothing at all; unleſs to be a King originally and in its Nature, included the Prieſthood, by a perpetual Force and Law never to be broken, and which their own inſtances deſtroy; and did not the deſign and frame of the Governments themſelves forbid it? for the Law of *Moſes* is the foundation and direction of both Governments, both Political and Eccleſiaſtical, and which the Law of our Saviour is not, Civil Power is it altogether, and in every inſtance antecedent and independent to that Power which is from the Goſpel; the Law of Chriſt ſuppoſes it, only adds, by its Precepts of Juſtice and Virtue, greater Awe and Reverence, new Motives for Obedience and Subjection; yet the particular very ill conſequence could by no means be allow'd us, to take and give Meaſures and Rules to the Powers Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. Powers and Offices of the Christian Church, from the Pattern and Practice of the *Jewish*, for then the Power and Extent of the Evangelical Priesthood must be such as Christianity will not bear, nor any man in his wits claim for it, the Power of the Priesthood among the *Jews* was mixed in some cases, and the Priest and the Levite were, in some instances, civil Judges apart, as betwixt stroke and stroke, betwixt Plea and Plea, *&c. Deut.* 17. and the High-Priest in other Circumstances had no Jurisdiction at all, but as elected a Member of the *Sanedrim*, and which was at the choice of his Electors, not by virtue of his Priesthood, as such tell us that are skilled in their Customs, and sure we are he was still to be consulted, in the ordinary difficult Affairs of the Kingdom, concerning Wars and Peace: and gave his responses by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and which is so strenuously oppos'd as unfit for Christian Bishops and Church-men, by those we have mostly to deal with in this point now under debate, and which would be of worser consequence yet, if apply'd unto Kings, to have the Princes Power such only as had the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, particularly according as is the Model we usually receive from these Men of their Government, and is contended for as lapsed from Heaven; for their *Sanedrim* is still described as an Autority foreign and independent from that of the Prince, that could not question the King for his life, but could lay lesser Punishments upon him, if violating the Law. And the great *Selden* himself is at a stand, and leaves it

it to wiſer heads than himſelf to determine, whether the *Sanedrim* might whip their Kings or not? *De Syned. lib.* 2. *cap.* 9. 2. 5. or in what extent ſoever the Kings of *Judah* are propoſed as Patterns to our Kings for the exerciſe of Power in the Chriſtian Church, in our Nine and thirty Articles, and may authorize them in it, to be ſure they were never deſign'd Examples in this particular of Unction, or whatever Power it was they were to have as from them, our Church could not mean it ſhould thus be derived. Our Kings of *England*, 'tis plain, owe no one inſtance of their Power to the Coronation it ſelf, much leſs to their being then anointed, one but particular Ceremony in the Performance of it; and all Juriſdictions and Rights they have as Kings, they have before, and are to enjoy their whole life-time; Suppoſing they were neither anointed, nor, even Crown'd at all, 'tis all an high Ceremony, Solemn and Magnificent, Peculiar, as is the Perſon, and Power and Majeſty of a Prince, as is becoming a Crown Imperial when ſet on his Head, and the anointing may be uſed, as very lively ſignificant and expreſſing that ſeparation of his Perſon, which was due and made and acknowledged before, and really in him, as has been the Cuſtom by Oyl ſo to ſever and ſet apart Perſons and Things; but that the thing it ſelf is either commanded, or expected by God, or deſign'd and uſed by Man to any other end, ſervice or purpoſe, I never could yet underſtand. *David Blondel*, in his *Formula regnante Chriſto*, *Pag.* 119. tells us; that the Unction, or Cuſtom Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. Custom of anointing Princes, was not used, among Christians, till the year of our Lord 750. and the Consecration of their King *Pippin*, and it was often repeated, as twice, four, five times a year, as he instances in several Princes, and makes evident it is not look't upon as an initiating investing Ceremony, whatever else use they appropriated to it; though afterwards it was adjudged Sacriledge to iterate it, by a growing Superstition, and assum'd Opinion of it; the famous Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, *De Marca*, in his Second Preface to his Book *De Concord.* &c. and in the Second Book, *Cap.* 7. of the Treatise it self, tells us of some in the Greek Church, that were of the Opinion, that the Prince had the Priestly Power by virtue of his Unction: And it was defined in a Synod held at *Constantinople* in the year of our Lord Nine hundred and seventy, that the anointing of the Emperor gives him the same Power to forgive Sins, as has the Sacrament of Baptism; and the Greeks out of the same Principle of flattery managed the same Opinion, and gave their Emperor the same Power as hath the Patriarch; but this, as we are told, depended mostly on a Faction then on foot, as it was in it self precarious and Arbitrary, & so wee'l leave it to its first bottom, which is none at all, nor needs it any farther Consideration.

§. V. *NON est Respublica in Ecclesia, sed Ecclesia in Republica*, 'tis the saying of *Optatus lib.* 3. *Contr. Parmen. Donatist.* The Common-wealth is not in the Church, but the Church in the Common-wealth, under the Head and Government of the Powers of the

the World, as to the Temporals; and that Chap. 2.
inſtance of the Polity of it, no Plea of Office and Deputation, what Commiſſion or Deſignation ſoever from God, and Chriſt, can or ever did exempt any one Man on Earth, from it, collate or inveſt therewithal, a Power for Earth above it, at leaſt as binding Rules for continuance, and a pattern for future Practice. Our Saviour had it not, *who made me a Judge or a Divider?* and none can exerciſe it as from him, but by Uſurpation, but the Common-wealth and the Church are no ways thus in Subordination and dependencies in another regard, as the Church is a Body endow'd with Powers Spiritual, thus they are different as the Soul and Body are in Man's Perſon, in their diſtinct Orbs and Stations, as are the Sun and the Moon in the Heavens, have a quite diverſe Orb, and Powers, Influences, and Devolutions that are variant. As the Church muſt be always in the World, in that other ſenſe, ſubject to its governance, to the accidents too oft, the frowns and high diſpleaſures of it, till the World it ſelf is no more: So muſt the World be in the Church in this other ſenſe, if that World, for whoſe Sins Chriſt died; if coming to Heaven and Salvation be ſubject to its Head and Juriſdiction, the World may not improperly be ſaid to be as the Moon, and the Church as the Sun, receiving light and aſſiſtance, ſplendor, and glory, and beauty from it; thus influenced, and increaſing with the increaſe of God, though the Metaphor needs not run any farther, and as it has been ſtretcht too much

Chap. 2. much by ſome, and all this is demonſtrable, and will appear as evident as the Sun in its Zenith or at Noon day; 'tis wrote as with an Adamant, a Pen of iron on a Rock, on that Pillar the Church, to be ſeen and read of all Men, and to all Ages for evermore, in the Original riſe and ſucceſſion of Church Power, in all Tranſactions, Records, and Hiſtories of it; in the Matter of Fact, as notorious to the common ſenſe of Mankind, as that one and two make three, is to his reaſon, and which is the only Rule in this caſe to be gone by. I'le begin with the Apoſtles, and ſo come down to thoſe Ages of the Church, and Laws Imperial and Conceſſions, whoſe Truth and Intereſt is believed by all to be ſuch, as not to engage them to be falſe, in which, all Parties agree and concenter.

§. VI. *PULCHERRIMA illa quæ Eccleſia continet coagmentatio non ex Imperio* Romano *fluxit, Chriſto monſtrante ſequentibus Apoſtolis, Grot. in Animadvert. Rivet. ad Articul.* 7. That comelineſs of Order and Degrees in the Church, did not flow from the *Roman* Empire; but from Chriſt Jeſus, the Apoſtles following and imitating of him; and as he their chief & great Maſter had not, ſo neither had they, his immediate Deputies and Succeſſors, their Power either from Man or the Will of Man, they in no inſtance conſulted with Fleſh and Blood, with any thing Humane and of the World, in the firſt riſe, devolution, and conveyance of it; but ſtill term themſelves *the Apoſtles and Miniſters of Chriſt Jeſus*; nor in the execution of this Power did they do otherwiſe, they conſulted only with

with themselves in the arduous difficult cases arising, 'tis to the Spirit of the Prophets, the Prophets alone are to be subject; they go up to *Jerusalem* to the Apostles and Elders there, *Acts* 15. and 'tis *Peter*, *James* and *John* consult together upon the like occasion, *Gal.* 2. 'tis they ordain Elders, and give Laws in all Churches; leave *Timothy* and *Titus* in *Ephesus* and *Crete*, and appoint for decency and order; they are brought before Kings, but 'tis mostly, if not always to suffer; they there take the advantages to assent and plead this their Right and Power, distinct and separate; to give Rules and Exhortations, but ask no Directions, receive nothing of Autority from them. Nor did this Autority thus limited to themselves, cease with their Persons; or was it translated and deferr'd to any other than of their own assignation, by their own Hands, and on their own Deputies and Successors, the Bishops and Pastors of the Church, in whose hands, and whose alone, it was by them left, and there remained, with a Power so to depute others, and with command to be executed accordingly. The very same Church Power, I say, though not in the same particular Circumstances, avouch'd and attended in the same outward manner, nor in every single act and effusion, does it thus remain and is it to be executed upon all for Salvation, and as Christ promised to be with them always to the end of the World; and this will fully appear from the Church Records, commencing where the Scriptures end, from the Concessions of Emperors, their Laws and Constitutions made in Church Matters. Chap. 1.

Chap. 2. § VII. SAINT *Clemens Romanus* an Apostolical Person, and one that wrote his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, not long after the Schism in *Corinth*, mentioned by St. *Paul*, tells us, That the Apostles being sent from Christ as from God, and Preaching the Word of God through the several Regions and Cities, made Bishops and Deacons of the elder Christians; such as were the first fruit of their labours, and whom they first converted, being found sufficient, in order to the Service of them that should believe, to the bringing more into the Fold, and reducing them to Christianity; St. *Ignatius* his Contemporary in part, in his Epistle to those of *Smyrna*, commands them to follow the Bishop. Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς· And in his Epistle to St. *Polycarp*, περισχέσθω ὡς Θεὸς, That they take heed to him as God. And again in his Epistle to *Smyrna*, That nothing be done without him in Matters that belong to the Church and Salvation, μηδὲν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὶ πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν, and the meaning is not ill expres'd by the additional *Pseudo-Ignatius*, whoever he was, Εἰκὼν ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Χριστοῦ, the whole Character, whatever of their Image and Power, God and Christ design'd to devolve and impress upon his Church; whether as to the Government or Ministery of it, are found in the Bishop; He is the Person to whose Faith and Trust the People of God are committed, and of whom, an account is required of their Souls, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐπισκοπούμενος ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, &c. ἡγεῖται αὐτῶν ὡς κεφαλὴν, he governs as Head,

and

and all Church Power and Business is to be translated within themselves, as in the Apostles Canons, which bear date about this time, *Can.* 34. 39. *Irenæus*, who trode pretty near their heels, says that he can reckon up them that were Bishops instituted by the Apostles, and their continued Succession to his days, *Lib.* 3. *Adv. Hæres. cap.* 3. *Ed. Paris. Habemus eos annumerare qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi, in Ecclesiis, & successores eorum usq; ad nos*, to whom, and only whom, the Gospel was committed; *Sine quibus nulla certitudo veritatis*, *Ibid.* And again, *Episcopis Apostoli tradidere Ecclesias*, that the Churches of God were committed to, and intrusted with them, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 20. *Origen* if possible is plainer and distincter yet; and in his Third Book against *Celsus*, in so many express words, distinguishes betwixt the Senate in the Church, and that in every City; *Ed. Cantab. p.* 129. ἐτοῦ ἢ κὴ βέλευ ἐκκλησίας θεῦ, βελὴ τῆ κατ' ἕκασον πόλιν συνεξιάζουσι. And so again betwixt the Rulers and Governors of the Church, and the Rulers and Governors of the City, ἐτοῦ ἢ κὴ ἀρχοῦλα ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντι, βουλευτῶν κὴ ἀρχόντων ἐκκλησίας θεῦ, ἢ τοῖς πόλεως βουλευτῶν κὴ ἀρχόντων, *Ibid.* And in his Eighth Book towards the end, he declares a different Model, ἀλλὰ σύστημα, from that of the Empire, in every City, (for which and whose safety and success, in his Wars he contends and prays for, and which he owns and acknowledges with it) a Government, framed constituted and erected, λόγῳ θεῦ, by the word which is God, and which Government is the Church, whose

Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. great King is λόγ⊙ θεῦ, υἱος θεῦ, the Word and Son of God, who has his ἀρχοντες, his Governors ſtill appointed, reſident and continued there, ruling as he hath preſcribed, according to his own Laws and Dictates, the Laws of the Empire being preſerved inviolated by them. *Tertullian* as plainly diſtinguiſhes betwixt the two Bodies, in the Nine and thirtieth Chapter of his Apology againſt the Gentiles, *Corpus ſumus de Conſcientia Religionis, & Diſciplinæ unitate, & Spei fœdere*, we Chriſtians are a Body united in a ſenſe of Religion, under a different Diſcipline, as well as hope, altogether apart, *à Miniſtris eorum & Poteſtatibus, à ſtatu ſeculi*; from their Miniſters and Powers, and from the ſtate of the World; and tells us that *Polycarp* was made a Biſhop in the Church of *Smyrna*, by Saint *John*, in the 23 Chapter of his Book of *Preſcriptions againſt Hereticks*; as alſo *Clement*, over the *Romans*, he returns to the Chairs of the Apoſtles, which remained till his time in their Succeſſion, as the Authors of his Religion; and 'tis not from the Seat of the Empire, but from *Corinth* and *Philippi*, from *Epheſus* and *Rome*, he dates their Power, and fetches their derivation, *Unde vobis auctoritas præſtò eſt*, whence its riſe and devolution. And in his Fourth Book againſt *Marcion*, *cap.* 5. *Ordo tamen Epiſcoporum ad Originem recenſus in Joannem ſtabit auctorem*, ſays, that St. *John* is the Author of the Order of Biſhops; a Polity and Diſpenſation all along, another thing from that of the Empire, flowing from another fountain, quite differing from, and no ways depending upon it. And

'tis

'tis *Tertullian*'s Argument in his Book *De corona Militis*; that a Christian Souldier, who fights in the Emperor's Camp, and gives him his just Allegiance, ought rather to lay down his Arms, than wear a Laurel Crown on his Head, though a mark of Favour from his Prince; because relating too much to a religious Custom among the Ethnicks, and he is no where commanded it in Scripture, nor is it traditionally delivered to him, by the Apostles, or Bishops, or Governors of the Church, either in Precept or in Practice; *Quomodo enim usurpari quid possit, si traditum prius non est quis deniq; Patriarches, quis Prophetes, aut Sacerdos aut ἀρχων quis vel deniq; Apostolus aut Evangelizator, aut Episcopus invenitur Coronatus? Cap.* 9. where though it was his mistake, in accounting such a thing Matter of Religion, as the wearing a Crown of Laurels upon the Commands of his Prince. This is a different thing from that command of *Licinius* the Tyrant, enjoyning all that would remain in his Camp to Sacrifice to Idols, as in *Eusebius* his Church History, *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 8. and which rather than do, Christians ought not only to leave the Camp, but lay down their Lives; yet upon the mistake and supposure, it is plain, that he remov'd from the Secular Power all Matters of Religion, such was to be received from Christ alone, from the Apostles and Bishops and succeeding Church-men; and consequently, we are thus to interpret those other places of this Father in his Works, when speaking of the Emperor in these Expressions, *Illum commendo, Deo, Cui soli Subjicio, Apol. adv.* Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. *Gentes, cap. 33. quem ſciens à Deo conſtitui, lib. ad Scapulam, Cap. 2. Colimus Imperatorem ſic quomodo nobis licet, & ipſi expedit, ut hominem à Deo ſecundum, & quicquid eſt, à Deo conſecutum, & ſolo Deo minorem; ſic enim omnibus major eſt, dum ſolo vero Deo minor eſt, Ibid.* That the Emperor is ſubject to God alone, as appointed by God; that he is ſecond to God, leſs than God only; that he is greater than all, &c. All theſe are to be underſtood in a limited ſenſe, ſuited to the preſent Subject he is then upon, as to the Secular Government, he being the fountain of all Temporals, and God governs the World by him; nor ought, nor can any one ſay, what does he? as accountable to God alone, who is alone above him. But Church Power is of another Head or Species, and 'tis not derivable from him; nor is he the leſs a Prince for want of it; and it was, it muſt be, if rational and conſiſtent with themſelves, the leaſt in the thoughts of this or any other Father of the Church, that has uſed theſe like Expreſſions, to aſcribe thereby Church Power unto him. And therefore is it, that in their Writings and Declarations and Apologies for their Loyalty and Obedience to the Empire, as ſtanding obliged in their Conſcience, and by their Chriſtianity, in all manner of Obedience to him; yet it is with this reſerve, that they are withall to retain their Freedom and Rights as Chriſtians, and which they own, and return to another fountain. So *Juſtin Martyr* in his ſecond Apology, Ἄνευ μὲν θεὸν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χαίρειν λατρεύομεν, with all joy and chear-

chearfulneſs we ſerve and obey you, only the Worſhip of the alone true God we derive not from you. So *Tatianus* in his Oration to the Greeks, πείθεται φίλον ὁ βασιλεὺς, *If the King Commands us to pay Tribute,* ἀνθρώπου ἀνθρώπινος τιμήσω, *as a Man wee'l obey him in his Humane Laws*; Religion is ſtill exempted. So *Athenagoras* in his Embaſſy to the Emperor, in behalf of the Chriſtians, declaring hee'l *refuſe no Tortures,* καλάζειν ὃ παρελήφαμεν, *if they fail in theſe Duties, in a greater or leſſer inſtance of them.* And thoſe excellent words of *Minutius Fœlix* are much to this purpoſe, *Quàm Pulchrum ſpectaculum Deo, cum Chriſtianus cum dolore congreditur, cum adverſus minas, & ſupplicia & tormenta componitur, cum ſtrepitum Mortis & horrorem Carnificis arridens inſultat, cum libertatem ſuam, adverſus Reges ac Principes erigit, Soli Deo, cujus eſt, cedit, cum Triumphator & Victor, ipſi qui adverſus ſe Sententiam dixit, inſultat.* How Pleaſant a Spectacle is it to God, when a Chriſtian encounters with Sorrow, when he is compos'd againſt Threatnings, and Puniſhments, and Torments; when with Smiles he inſults over the noiſe of Death, and the horror of the Hangman, when he erects his liberty againſt Kings and Princes, and gives place only to that God whoſe he is; when with Triumph and a Victor, he has the better of him, who gave Sentence againſt him? Chap. 2.

EUSEBIUS all along in his Church Hiſtory, as he ſets down the particular Succeſſion of the Emperors and Biſhops, ſo he repreſents and places them upon their two diſtinct Thrones; So 'tis ſaid of *Simeon*, in §. VIII.

Chap. 2. respect of his Dioceſe, and Church-Juriſdiction, ἡ παροικίας θρόνου ἄξιον ὤν, that he was worthy of his Throne, meaning his Epiſcopal Chair, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 11. and of *Juſtus* his Succeſſor in *Jeruſalem*, διαδοχὴν τοῦ θρόνου, that he was placed on the Throne of his Biſhoprick, *cap.* 35. when entring upon his λειτουργία, or the Office of a Biſhop, is expreſſed in general, *cap.* 13. τοῦτο διακονεῖν, as 'tis varied, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 9. that his Adminiſtration, or acts of his Epiſcopal Charge and Office, to be performed to his People; and accordingly the execution is expreſſed by ἡγεμόνευον, ἡγοῦτο, words that imply full Power & Autority in the Biſhop, if they imply it in the Prince, which have no other words to declare it to us by; and particularly the Empire of *Trajan* is expreſſed, by the very ſame word, ἡγεμονία, in that very Chapter. And this *Hugo Grotius* has obſerved, *Rivet. Apol. Diſcuſſ. pag.* 699. and given one reaſon of it, *Omne corpus Sociale jus habet quædam conſtituendi, quibus obligentur membra, hoc jus etiam Eccleſia competere apparet, Actorum* 15. 28 *Heb.* 13. 17. *& ob hoc jus Epiſcopatûs Imperii nomine appellatur*; every body by virtue of its Union and Aſſociation has a right to conſtitute ſuch Rules as do oblige its Members; that this right does belong to the Church, is apparent from *Acts* 15. 28. *Heb.* 19. 17. and for this the Right and Power which is annexed to Epiſcopacy, is call'd by the Name of an Empire; and this very Empire, Power, and Juriſdiction, we have executed by the Biſhop in part upon *Philip*, who held the *Roman* Government, and was newly come over to the Chri-

Chriſtian Faith, he enrolled him not, but by the Rules and Laws of the Church, but upon Confeſſion of his Sins, and paſſing through the Order of the Penitents, and which was ſubmitted to by him, *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 6. *cap.* 34. and the caſe is farther clear'd by our Hiſtorian, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 27, 28, 29, 30. in the inſtance of *Paulus Samoſetanus* (as to the diſtinct Power in Church and State, and the extent of each) he was Convict of Hereſie, and his Biſhops Orders taken away from him, by the Juriſdiction and Power of the Biſhops in Council united, who alone did give them, and who alone could take them from him, and placed another in his Biſhoprick in the Church of *Antioch*; But when *Paulus Samoſetanus* would not go out of his Church-Houſe, their Epiſcopal Power reached not ſo far as to diſpoſeſs him of his Temporals; 'tis the Buſineſs of Princes alone to inflict Baniſhment, or ſuch outward Puniſhment upon Hereticks, and we have *Theodoſius* a Biſhop blamed for his Perſecuting in ſuch like manner the Sect of the *Macedonians*, in the Seventh Book of *Socrates* his Church Hiſtory, *cap.* 3. Church Empire or Autority reaches not hither in any degree or inſtance; for this they appealed to the proper Head or Fountain, to *Anſtatius* the Emperor (who was then their Friend, though he continued not ſo long) they asked the aſſiſtance of the World, and that his Secular Arm might relieve them; this he granted, and adjuſted it to the preſent Biſhop, conſecrated thereunto; and thus was this notorious Heretick, ὑπὸ κοσμικῆς ἐξουσίας (as the Power of the Prince Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. Prince is ſtill called, whether exerciſed in the things of the Church or of the State) by the Secular Arm and Autority turn'd out of the Church, every ways diſhonour'd and diſplaced.

§. IX. I know it will be here reply'd, and 'tis ſo generally, All this was when the Emperors were Heathens, nay more, Oppoſers and Perſecutors of Chriſtianity; how could the Offices, Managery, and Concerns of Religion be intruſted with them, who did, who would not underſtand it, who ſcorned and affronted it, who to their power endeavour'd to ſuppreſs it, by all manner of Cruelties executed on its Profeſſors; the Church then did as well as ſhe could, and exerciſed her own Prudence and Strength, that Power and Juriſdiction, which they agreed upon and aſſum'd by particular compact among themſelves, and which, became an Eſcheat to the Crown, when the Empire became Chriſtian; and Kings then executed it in their own Right, as inherent to their Secular Power, deſigned, and appointed and expected from them by God Almighty. And in Anſwer to which groundleſs Plea, and Objection, I ſhall add farther, either the Biſhops and Doctors and Confeſſors of the Chriſtian Church underſtood this Caſe, as thus ſtated, That this Power was not really in themſelves, and their execution of it was but accidental, forced, under the preſent Circumſtances, and to return to ſuch Governors in State as ſhould become Chriſtians, as its proper Seat or Subject? or they did not underſtand it? To ſay they did not underſtand it, is to im-

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plead, and represent them to all Ages succeeding, guilty of Ignorance gross and inexcusable, to give that for certain Truth, which some of our Reformers have made their Libel and Objection, against these first and Holy Christians. That they were more Zealous than Wise, Pious, but imprudent less discerning men, and from whom Truth is not to be had nor expected, and which is in effect to put a baffle upon our whole Christianity in general, and to lay a ground for mistrust upon each of its particulars, it must receive a great blow upon such Suppositals, when reflected upon and considered, that those who alone propagated our Faith for Three hundred years together, did not understand the Power and Autority they were invested with in order to it, or the true tenor or state of it. To say they did understand it, then surely it had been stated by them, a Model of it drew up, and left, at least for Posterity; a thing so in course, and most usual in other cases, thus to give Specimens, Schemes and Draughts of the Design and Purpose; especially when to propose, attempt, and carry on something that is but new, not before received; much more when thwarting to the common Sentiments, and Apprehensions of Mankind; That no Men, but such as the Christians were given out to be by their Opposers and Persecutors, Madmen, and Fools, the followers of a Carpenter and a few Fishermen, can be supposed guilty of. Certainly the occasion and meaning of that particular Power they then exercised in the Church, different from the Secular; Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. cular; nay, when enjoyned and commanded the contrary, by thoſe Powers, that they act and ſpeak no more in that Name, when Perſecuted to Bonds and Impriſonment, moreover unto Death for it; had been declared and publiſhed, to ſuch thoſe Governors, a Manifeſto or Remonſtrance made of it to all Princes of the World; certainly among the many Apologies that were made to the Empire in their own behalf, this had had a ſhare, a room at leaſt, in ſome one of them. That what Juriſdiction was then exerciſed by them, the Paſtors of the Church, was only under the preſent Neceſſity, a preſent contrivance of their own, to keep their Followers and Adherents in ſome tolerable Peace and Order; to awe and reſtrain as they could, better an aſſumed Uſurped Government than none at all; that the real and whole Government was laid upon theirs, the Magiſtrates, ſhoulders alone, would they but be pleaſed to come in to the Faith, and ſuſtain and execute it. What a plauſible, even, cogent Argument is here all along omitted, to let the Powers of the World know, what a conſiderable Portion of their Birth-right, as Princes, they neglect, and diſown, abdicate and relinquiſh? what a real damage and diſadvantage they receive, in not coming in to the Church? what a principal Jewel would be added to their Crown in ſo doing? So great and conſiderable a number, as they which are Chriſtians, and which grow upon the World, and increaſe daily, *Veſtra omnia implevimus, Urbes, Inſulas, Caſtella, Municipia, Conciliabula, Caſtra ipſa, Tribus, Decurias,*

curias, Palatium, Senatum, Forum, cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissemus, etiam impares Copiis, as *Tertullian* in his Apology, *cap.* 37. Vast Multitudes every where, of all sorts, in all Places and Offices, who as they professed all manner of Allegiance, and Duty to them in Seculars; so would they acquit, resign into their hands, their Power Spiritual; nay, it is really theirs already, and the execution falls in course upon them, an accession that must be advantageous, cannot be accounted mean and inconsiderable to a Government. Thus to be the Fountain and Head of all Rule, and every Jurisdiction, to invest or abdicate, to oblige or punish, so great, so considerable a Sect as are the Christians, to constitute and influence, to depose and remove, every way, to govern at Pleasure; their Bishops and Pastors, who thus grow upon the World, and influence all Men; the Motive could never have been neglected; the Argument must have had a great deal of room in their several Apologies and Embassies, to the Empire, in behalf of themselves and their Religion, who spared nothing like an Argument, that might but ingratiate, and insinuate into their good favour, and liking; as 'tis evident from such their Writings; and yet there is not one word there of any such Pleadings, or any thing like it, but the quite contrary; as it hath been already made to appear. I'le go on farther, and assert, that 'tis very improbable, if not our Saviour himself, yet, that the Apostles should not have done all this, and thus stated the case down to the World; Chap. 2.

and

Chap. 2. and yet no man ſets theſe two Powers of the Church and State more apart than does St. *Paul*, and ſo leaves them. To inſtance in no more at preſent, he often exhorts, That they obey Magiſtrates, and that they alſo remember thoſe that have rule over them, who have ſpoken to them the Word of God; and his Biſhop has his diſtinct care over the Church of God, 1 *Tim.* 3. 5. has his things to ſet in order, *Tit.* 1. 5. a Power to Summon by Proceſs, to receive Accuſations, as in Court, as upon a Seat of Judicature, before witneſſes, 1 *Tim.* 5. 19, 20. though no Power to lay either Confinement, or any other corporal outward Puniſhment on their Perſons. The Powers of the World becoming Chriſtian, it muſt needs make a great alteration as to its Worſhip, and great was the advantage the Goſpel received thereby; but ſo great a tranſlation of Power from one Body to another, muſt in all likelihood have been forewarn'd of, and declared by ſuch, as had a foreſight for that very purpoſe, of all even Contingencies, and much more of what was to come to paſs in the future Ages of the Church; and as the thing it ſelf was ſo predivulg'd, that Kings and Queens ſhould be Nurſing Fathers and Mothers to the Church; and this ſeems reaſonable and requiſite to be done, were it only to ſatisfie mens Minds in the revolution; eſpecially ſince all Revelations ended in their Perſons, and 'tis only for ſuch to believe and aſſent to after-tranſlations, and new appearances in the Affairs of Religion, and not upon ſuch notices aforehand, as expect and depend upon

upon new Diſcoveries, and Periodical Illuminations; whimſical and Enthuſiaſtical Perſons. Chap. 2.

§. X. WHEN God was to conſtitute the *Jewiſh* Body, engaged, and ſtipulating according to the Law of *Moſes*, the preſent State and Neceſſities, as well as other Occurrences foreſeen, hindring the perfection and full accompliſhment of his deſigned Platform, for ſome time; the Wiſdom, and Mercy, and Providence of God, which is always preſent with himſelf and his own People, and accompanies his deſigns, foretold and declared what they were to expect, in the particular inſtances, the preſent narrower ſtate of things, and future ill humors of Men, prohibiting the one, and accidentally occaſioning the other. As, when the Model and Shape of their Government was to be changed, into that of Kings, or a tranſlation of Power from Perſon to Perſon, as is the pretended caſe here; it was declared long before by *Moſes*, Deut. 17. 14. as, when the Worſhip was to be transferr'd, (at firſt of neceſſity elſewhere, as is again alſo here pretended, that Church-Power was for a time in the Clergy) to the place that God ſhould chooſe, to the Temple, at that time, not built. Men are generally in love with old ways, and call that old, they have time out of mind been accuſtomed to, Innovations are not reliſh'd without plain and a great Autority, nothing but Prophecy, or preſent notorious Miracles, or a great aſſurance from thoſe, whom a known outward evidence makes appear, and moſt manifeſt; that 'twas delivered down from Perſons, ſo

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Chap. 2. assisted by God; and as God's Wisdom and Goodness is always the same, so neither certainly had his Mercy and Providence been shorter to this his Body of Christians, than 'twas to that of the *Jews*, in the like case; had there been any like it among Christians, as indeed there was none, the Government of the Church, which is here in this Discourse asserted, remaining one and the same, and in the same succession of Persons, when the Powers of the Earth were Christian, as before, when they were Heathen; and the good Providence of God, so ordered it, that *Constantine* the Emperor's becoming Christian, and his Succession, the Church and Church-men received only new Courage and Strength; the greatest additional advantages in such their Charges and Offices, by the Imperial Countenance and Protection, with all manner of supplies, and abundance, as to Places, Utensils, Revenues, and Immunities, Stately Churches being immediately erected, with the greatest magnificence and elegancy of Structure; the Furniture as rich, and Endowments as large, with a like Privilege as to Persons and Things, Investitures every ways answerable, and all assistance conferr'd, and Provision for the time to come by setled Laws, and most wholesome Constitutions, to preserve and continue what was thus done and granted, *Serviant Reges terræ Christo, etiam leges ferendo pro Christo*, as St. *Augustine* speaks in his 48 Epistle, *The Kings of the Earth serve the Church in making Laws to defend her*; and which Saying was occasioned by St. *Augustine*, and more to that purpose in that

that Epiſtle, by reaſon of the ſeverer Imperial Laws and Penalties made againſt and inflicted upon that ſpawn of the Donatiſts, thoſe unruly Circumcellians, who broke out into all manner of Outrages and Violence; and though the Church had not long enjoyed this Peace, but what is the woful effect of Eaſe and Plenty, Diviſions and Breaches, aroſe and grew wide within her ſelf, carried on to great Ruptures, and much was innovated and taught amiſs in other Points; yet as to this particular, the Subject of Church-Power, it was never queſtioned, fell not under debate, much leſs was it wreſted out of the hands of Church-men; did any one Emperor, if not withal known Heretical, either uſurp it to himſelf, or alienate it from the Biſhops, but all along acknowledge and confirm it to them? and this will be as clear from the Æra or Date of their turning Chriſtians, as it has appear'd to have been from the firſt entrance of Chriſtianity till then; and that if we continue our Method, and look into thoſe times as we have done into the foregoing Ages. Chap. 2.

§. XI. THERE was no Man of the Age, more tenderly Conſcientious in profeſſing and paying his Obedience to the Emperor, than was the holy *Athanaſius*; how ſolicitouſly and anxiouſly did he Vindicate himſelf, when accuſed as an Enemy and Traducer of him, when by his cruel and moſt malicious Adverſaries, which were many, repreſented as Rebellious and Diſobedient? This will appear ſufficiently from all ſuch as have imployed their Pens in giving to the World

Chap. 2. an account of those Transactions, by the *Arians* and *Meletians* managed and improv'd against him, and which were numerous, and particularly from his own Apology, to *Constantius*, of which he that will take a taste, let him read the beginning of it only, if he thinks much of his labour to go through with it, he acknowledges, the Power of the Empire in Religious things; in assigning the Feasts of Dedication, and their times, ὃν ἐγχαίνια ὑμῖν ἐπιτελέσαι διετάξασθε ἄνωθεν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀδίκημα ἦν ἀλλὰ, πρὸ τῆς πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας, he acknowledges his Power over his Person, and asks his *Diploma* or Letters of leave for the exercise of his Episcopal Function in his own Church of *Alexandria*, and for the Convention of Synods, *Ibid.* p. 682. 754. 761. *Ed. Paris.* he asks the Emperor's Grant concerning the Publick Service and Churches in *Alexandria*; as we have out of *Sozomen*, *Eccl. Hist. l.* 3. *c.* 20. but yet he puts a difference betwixt the Work of a Synod, and that of the Empire, and blames those that confound them, or rather refer all to the Emperor, ὄνομα συνόδου χαμαὶ ἔπεσεν, καὶ τὸ ἴσχυν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως λαμβάνον, p. 730 he refuses to receive *Arius* into Communion upon his Heretical Terms and Principles, though the Emperor do Command him, though he threaten him if he do not; and for refusing, he causes him to be deposed by a Synod held at *Tyre* for that very purpose, and of his own Convention, and afterwards banish'd him, and which he submits to, but not to deliver up the Rights of the Church of God; as *Socrates* tells us in his Ecclesiastical History, *Lib.* 1. *cap.*

cap. 27, 28. 32. 35. and he is so bold with *Constantius*, as to fix the mark of Antichrist upon him, when he undertakes the Protection of a wicked Religion, dissolving the received Orders of Christ and his Apostles, & creates of his own head new Constitutions, Διαλύων ἅ μὲν τῷ Κυρίῳ διὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διάταξις, — καινὰς δὲ ἀνῃρῆσθαι τοῦτον τῶν πάλαι δοκούντων, as in *Athanasius*, *Ep. ad Solit. Vit. agentes*, p. 845. 860. and reproves the Emperor farther, that he pretends to have the judicial Determination of Bishops, but really manages and does all himself, περιφανίζεται μὲν κρίσιν ἐπισκόπων, πράττων δ' ἀυτὸς, *Ib.* and evidently again distinguishes between the work of a Bishop, and the work of an Emperor, he goes on and is more daring and positive, πότε κρίσις ἐκκλησίας, ἔξω τῶν βασιλίων ἦν τὸ ἔργον; when any such thing was heard of from the beginning of the World, that the Judgment and Decision of the Church had its Autority and Measures from the Empire? or was ever any such Determination known at all? many Church Decisions have been made, but never did the Presbyters perswade the Emperor to any such thing; neither did the Prince intermeddle with the things of the Church, πότε βασιλεὺς τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπεχείρησε, *Ibid.* And all this is recorded by *Athanasius* of the Divine and most Excellent *Hosius*, in that his Epistle *Ad Solitarium*, &c. *Pag.* 840. repeating there *Hosius* his Epistle to *Constantius* on the same occasion, ὁ μακάριος Ὅσιος τοῦτο τοῖς τῆς πίστεως, who drew up the *Nicene* Creed, ὅτου καὶ συνόδου συνεχώρησε καὶ ἐπῄνεσε, ἀκούσας τοῦτο, one that was heard, and submitted to by all,

Chap. 2. his own words are these to the Emperor, Μὴ σαυτὸν τίθει ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, &c. *Do not interpose thy self, nor meddle with Ecclesiastical Affairs, nor do you Command in these things; but rather learn them of Us; to Thee God hath committed the Empire, to Us he hath deputed what is the Churches; and as he that undermines the Government, opposes the Ordinance of God; so do thou take heed, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν σαυτῷ ἔχων, lest forcing to thy self the things which are of the Church, you become liable to as great a guilt; for it is written, give unto* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsar's, *and unto God the things which are Gods; It is neither lawful for us to have the Government upon Earth, nor hast thou the Power of Holy things, O King:* St. *Jerome* speaks of the evil Bishops (only the Character is upon them) *De Ecclesiæ Principibus, qui non dignè regunt oves Domini*, as of Princes in the Church, with Power of Jurisdiction in themselves, in his Comments on *Jeremiah*, *cap.* 23. *Sacerdos est Caput*, the Priest is the Head; an Original devolving upon others, *Comment. in* 1 Cor. 12. and upon *Romans* 13. *Apostolus in his quæ recta sunt, judicibus obediendum, non in illis quæ Religioni contraria sunt*; the things of Religion are not to be subjected to Kings, nor any in Autority under them. And to this purpose he says again, in *Isai.* 1. *Apostolos à Christo constitutos, Principes Ecclesiarum*, the Apostles were constituted by Christ Princes of the Churches. And the same is said in his Preface to the Epistle to the *Galatians*, and particularly on *Psal.* 44. *Fuere, O Ecclesia, Apostoli Patres tui, quia ipsi te genuere, &c. The Apostles, O Church, were thy*

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thy Fathers that begot thee; now becauſe, they Chap. 2.
are gone out of the World, you have in their room Biſhops, Sons, which are created of thee, and theſe are thy Fathers by whom thou art governed; —The Goſpel being ſpread in all Parts of the World, in which Princes of the Church, i. e. *Biſhops, are conſtituted.* This Holy Father aſſigning, all Church-Power to and in it ſelf; and if it be ſuſpected whether theſe Comments on the Pſalms be St. *Jerome's* own, I have yet here repeated this paſſage out of them, as moſt fully appearing his ſenſe, to whoſo pleaſes to conſult his Works, eſpecially his Commentary. St. *Auguſtine's* Opinion we have already in part ſpoke of, and he that will undertake an Enquiry, will find him all along of the ſame Opinion. I'le only inſtance in the differences occaſion'd by the Donatiſts, and what Power the Empire aſſum'd to it ſelf in thoſe great and many Controverſies and their Deciſions, related by him; which he tells us is only to make outward Laws in defence of what appears to be Truth, and ſays he, it falls out ſometimes *Reges cum in errore ſunt, pro ipſo errore contra veritatem leges ferunt*, that they make Laws againſt Truth, themſelves being in Error; and good Men are only prov'd thereby, as evil Men by their good Laws are amended, *Tom. 7. l. 3. Cont. Creſcon. Gramat. cap. 51.* they command that which is Good, and forbid that which is Evil, *Non ſolum qua pertinent ad humanam Societatem, verùm etiam ad divinam Religionem*, in things which belong not only to Humane Society, but to Divine Religion, he has Power to enquire into de-

Chap. 2. bates, and to provide for Truth and Peace by the Biſhops, to aſſign the Perſons, Time, and Place, *Ut ſuperſtitionem manifeſta ratio confutaret*, that Reaſon may gain upon Superſtition, and Truth be made manifeſt, *Collat. 1. diei, & 3. cum Donatiſt.* Nor was *Cecilianus* purg'd and ſet free, but by *Judiciis & Eccleſiaſticis & Imperialibus*, by the Eccleſiaſtical, as by the Imperial Judgment and Determinations, *Ibid.* nor will it appear that the Powers of the Empire have concern'd themſelves any farther in thoſe quarrels, than by abetting or diſcouraging by outward Laws and Puniſhments, what was repreſented as Truth unto them, and which the Church alone hath not Power to do, either to award at firſt or after mitigate, but by Prayers and Arguments; and therefore the Civil Laws and Indulgences, have been ſometimes ſeverer, and ſometimes too indulgent, as Accidents or Truth over-ruled, as is to be ſeen in his Third and Fourth Books *ad Creſconium*; and when theſe Laws went too hard upon theſe Donatiſts, and pinched their Faction too ſorely, then they cried out of Perſecution, denied the Empire this Power in Divine things, and that they were to ſtand at no humane Judicature, as is the way of all ſuch Factions, when themſelves only perſecute and invade, and whoſe Inſolencies and Rapines are at large told us by St. *Auſtin*, in his Forty eighth Epiſtle, and by *Optatus* in his Treatiſe againſt *Parmenius* the Donatiſt. Hence that of *Donatus, lib. 3. Ibid. Quid Imperatori cum Eccleſia?* What has the Emperor to do with the Church? whom

whom *Optatus* there ſharply upbraids, as well as reproves for it; tells *Donatus* of his Pride and unheard of inſolency in ſo doing, in lifting up himſelf above him who is ſecond to God alone, *Cum ſupra Imperatorem non ſit niſi ſolus Deus*, who ſits as God in all forenſick outward Judicatures, and no man can withſtand him; but Church-Power is ſtill ſuppoſed a quite differing thing. I mean, that which our Saviour left immediately to his Church, it falls not under this head of things; 'tis derived in another ſtream, as the deſign of his whole Book declares; nor is *Optatus*, for this or any other like Expreſſion to be thought to refer all Church-Power into the Empire, than thoſe other Fathers did, uſing much the ſame Expreſſions, and which is above obſerved, and he in particular returns the riſe and devolution of the Biſhops of *Rome* to St. *Peter*; by whoſe Succeſſors it was then in *Siricius* the Biſhop in his days, in his Second Book againſt *Parmenius*; and ſo St. *Auſtin* has done on the ſame occaſion, in his Hundred and ſixty fifth Epiſtle, and the breach of this Succeſſion, is the Charge and Crime of Schiſm, they both object againſt the Donatiſts, as guilty of a Church, as well as a State-tranſgreſſion, and both on ſeveral accounts, as two diſtinct Impieties, are they proceeded againſt. I'le give but one inſtance out of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and 'tis ſo full, there needs no more of thoſe many others are producible, 'tis in his 86th Homily on St. *John*, where he ſays, *Chriſt did inveſt his Apoſtles with Power*, καθάπερ τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπιτέλλων, *as a King ſends forth his Prefects, and* Ge-

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Chap. 2. *Governors, with a Power immediately from himself, to imprison and release, to bind and to loose, to execute of themselves all Power and Jurisdiction so receiv'd, and belonging to the Deputation.* And what was the Judgment of St. *Ambrose*, the particular case alone betwixt him and the Emperor *Theodosius*, makes abundantly appear, occasioned by that cruel Massacre committed in *Thessalonica*, by his, at least, connivance; the Holy Bishop remov'd him from the Prayers and Altar, durst not Communicate with him, in those Holy Duties, whose hands were so full of Blood; not that St. *Ambrose* could impose these things by force, and that his Person be so absented, by any thing like a Coercive Power, or did design or pretend to it, and that Penance which he laid upon him, and the Emperor accepted of, upon his Re-entrance, was it suited to his Imperial Power, no ways abating of, or detracting from his Majesty and Soveraignty; it was to enact a Law that no Penal Decree or Edict that comes forth, be executed, till Thirty days after its first Sanction, to avoid the fury of such Proceedings for the future. No, St. *Ambrose* upon the either Plea or Execution of this Power, does not attempt his either Purple or Scepter, to Depose him from his Crown, or Absolve his Subjects of their Allegiance; he only executes upon him his Pastoral Charge, and which is in order to the World to come, ἃ δὲ δίδωσι βασιλεὺς ἐξουσίαν, ἐν ἄλλοις παρεχόμεθα ἡμῖν. and as he reverenced his Kingly Power, so did he take care also, not to transgress the Law of his God; had the Emperor been less

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a Christian, and return'd upon him with violence, Ἥξομαι κἀγὼ μετ' ἐλαφρᾶς τῆ σφάγης, he could receive the stroke with Pleasure, he did discharge his Duty as a Bishop, and he was secure within, he only lets the Emperor know, that his Purple makes him a Prince, not a Priest, that it doth not exempt him from the Laws and Discipline of God's Church; and for this he appeals to his own Education, Θείοις λογίοις, ἐπιθεσμίοις, nourish'd up in the Divine Oracles, and in which it was clear, τίνα ἦν ἱερέων, τίνα ἦν βασιλέων, ἴδια, what was the Priests, and what the Princes peculiar Office, and, which were there notoriously distinguish'd; all this was no Pragmatick, newly started, particular, extravagant attempt, in St. *Ambrose*; but a commonly receiv'd and owned Right, and Truth, what the whole Age had been taught and bred up in. And *Theodosius* in particular, ἴδιε σοφὸς, knew it by his Education; and which caused his displeasure to some who were willing to abate of their Church Right, whether out of Court-flattery, or for what other Reason, for which on the contrary he so highly valued and honoured St. *Ambrose*, Ἀμβρόσιον ἴδια μόνον, ἐπίσκοπον ἀξίως καλούμενον, as who alone was worthy of the Name of a Bishop; all which, with more is to be read in our Church Histories, particularly those of *Sozomen*, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 25. and *Theodoret*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 18. and that which gave St. *Ambrose* a particular advantage in the asserting, and execution of such his Power was, that he had the Autority of *Valentinian* on his side; for that good Emperor had own'd all this before

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Chap. 2. fore, and he Sang this Hymn at his Conſecration, St. *Ambroſe* being then a lay Governor of that Province, deputed to it by himſelf, χάρις σοὶ Χριστὲ παμβασιλεῦ καὶ σῶτερ ἡμῶν, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν μοὶ ἐνεχείρισα σώματα, σὺ καὶ ψυχὰς, he gave thanks to God and Chriſt, that as he had committed the Power of Mens Bodies to him in that Province, ſo from them he had now the Power of Souls, by the χάρις ἀρχιερατικὴ, there mentioned, his Epiſcopal Character then conferr'd upon him, *Theodorit. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 4. cap. 7.*

§. XII. And he that begins again where we left off in *Euſebius*, and goes along our firſt Church Hiſtory, to *Conſtantine* downward, will find all along, the ſame Church-Power continued and aſſerted, and expreſſed in the ſame words too, as is that of the Empire. Nor can any man any more doubt, that there was Eccleſiaſtical Power, ſeated in ſome meaſure, in every Order of the Church, but primarily and chiefly in the Biſhop; then that there was a Civil Power placed by God firſt of all in the Empire, and from him derived to his Præfects and inferiour Magiſtrates; and *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* had as real a Power in his Dioceſe, and which can no more be queſtioned upon the ſcore of thoſe publick Records, than that *Valentinianus* his Contemporary had a real Autority in the Empire of the World; the Biſhop is ſtill repreſented in his Chair, as the Emperor is upon his Throne, or can be by words declared, they are ſtill called and acknowledged, τεταγμένον. *Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 10. c. 3.* τοιαῦτα ὑμεῖς ἐχέτω τὸ θεῷ τεταγμένον, *Cap. 4.* τῶν ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιῶν προεδρίαν, *De Vita* Conſtantini,

ſtantini, *lib.* 2. *c.* 62. περιῆσε *cum Presbyteris* Chap. 2.
ſuis, *l.* 3. *c.* 7. τὸ ἐπιτέλεσμα τῆς ἱερωσύνης περιῆστε, *cap.* 24. ἀρχιερεῖ, *cap.* 59. ἱερῶτο ὁ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Σιλβέστερος, *& de Euſtathio dicitur quòd Concilium Niceæ*, ἄξιον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱερέως ἱερώσης. *nimirum Antiochiæ*, *cum & eodem tempore & Capite dicit quod Conſtantinus* τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων, *Sozomen*, *l.* 1. *c.* 2. καθηγήτας ἢ ἱερατείας *Sacerdotes Vocat. lib.* 2. *cap.* 12. and he gives this account why the Biſhops are Buried at *Conſtantinople*, with the Emperors, in the Church which is call'd *The Apoſtles*, ὅτι τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐμέλλομεν βασιλείας ἔσεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἤδη ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς τύχαις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐχόντες, *lib.* 2. *cap. ult.* ἢ Ἀλεξανδρείας θρόνον. ἢ Ρωμαίων θρόνον, *lib.* 3. *c.* 6. περὶ τῶν ἐκκλησίων, *De Epiſcopis*, *&* περὶ τοῦ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἀρχηγέτου, *De Imperatore*, *lib.* 6. *c.* 4. *Philip*, who held a Præfecture, or ſome kind of Government under the Empire, is called ἔπαρχος in *Conſtantinople*, and which implies his Miſſion and Deputation from and under the Emperor; But this word is never applied to the Biſhops, or any one of them, who are no Deputies of his, receive nothing like a Commiſſion, nor have any derived Power from him, they are not the King's Miniſters or Vicegerents, as are thoſe in Temporals; and they owe their Autority alone to Chriſt Jeſus, *Cap.* 9. And ſo again, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 3. τὸ ὑπάρχῳ, when mentioning the Officers of the Crown, under Deputation, and all along in the Hiſtory, καθήκει τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, *Romæ*, *Sylveſter*, τὸν ἱερωμένον *Antiochiæ*, *Vitalis*, *&* περιῆλθε *poſt illum Phlagonius*, *Theodorit. lib.* 1. *c.* 3. τῆς ἔπαρχος ἢ καθήκει (*Conſtantinopoleos*) ἐγχειρίζεται πρῶτον, *Flavianus*

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Chap. 2. τὸν θεῖον διδασκαλίαν, τὸν θεῖον *Gennadius, Evagr. Hiſt. Eccl. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 11. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 16. So that if things by words are delivered to us, which muſt be, ſince we have not converſe with one another, as they tell us, Angels have, or private immediate infuſions from God, he ſpeaks not to us, inarticulately in Sounds, and in Dreams, as of old; we have here the thing contended for in this Diſcourſe, *viz.* a real, Autoritative Power in the Church independent, equally as in the Empire; neither Subordinate to one another. The Argument and Evidence is as good as the Story is true, and the reception of thoſe Ages; or as the truth of Matter of Fact can make it.

§. XIII. AND ſuitably the firſt and moſt ancient Councils which are come to our hands, of the Chriſtian Church, have ſtill owned the Empire, and ſubmitted to it, in its full Latitude; but yet ſtill they reſerved and aſſerted a Power within themſelves, which was neither derived from, nor depended upon it in the execution, and θρόνος is the word they ſtill expreſs their Chair by; they could make Sanctions and Conſtitutions, oblige and bind the Conſcience of themſelves, and without it, the firſt great Council of *Chriſtendome*; they met indeed in the Name of the Emperor, were ſummon'd by his Writ; nor ought they perſonally, and in Bodies, collectively to Aſſemble without it; but they acted and decreed in their own Names, by their own Power and Autority, were all their Synodical Determinations made, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ. So the great and firſt general Council of

of *Nice*, and was the after-form of the Proceedings of the ſucceeding Councils, which ſtill confirm'd that firſt, ſolemnly owning and receiving of it; It ſeemed good to the Holy Synod, to the Holy Biſhops and Fathers there; as the immediately following General Council at *Conſtantinople* explains it, ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνελθοῦσιν τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις, μὲ ἀνενδότως ἢ νῦν ἢ τοῖς ἢ Παλαίων ἢ τεταχόσιν Πατράσιν ἢ ἐν Νικαίᾳ, a form but a little abating of that of the Apoſtles Synod, *Acts* 15. *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us*; and as their Power is diſtinct, ſo is its Execution in different words and Penalties, ſo as expreſſed, for the moſt part, by none elſe, and in all, never, executed by any, ἀποβαλλόμενα, καθαιρούμενα, ἢ ἢ ὅπωσιοῦν παραδίκαια, ἀναθέλομεν, ἀκοινώνητα, ἀπηλλοτριωμένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἢ ἀλλοτρίους ἀκατακρίτως γενέσθαι, ἔξω ἀποβληθῆναι, ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι τῆς κοινῆς ἀπολαύσεως γενέσθαι, *Arceri, ſeu ejici ab Eccleſia, à fraternitatis Communione, relegari, ſubmoneri à limine & omni tecto Eccleſiæ, Sacramento Benedictionis exaulctorari, Communione interdici, abſtineri, depelli*; theſe are the words ſtill expreſſing the Execution of this Church-Power, as they are to be met with up and down in the Greek Councils, and Greek and Latine Fathers; many of which Mr. *Selden* has took the pains to Collect to our hands, *Lib.* 1. *De Synod. Pag.* 257. 259. and are to be ſeen alſo in an earlier Copy, in the firſt Canon of the Seventh general Council, held at *Nicea*, there reckoned up and own'd, as bottomed on the Autority of the Apoſtles Canons, and the Six foregoing general Councils. And the Biſhops have a Power

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Chap. 2. Power τὸ τέλειον & ἐπιτρεπὲς διαμένειν, φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι, ἢ τὰ πλείονα περιλιβδεῖν χείρονι, *Can.* 5. *Concil. Ancyran.* φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι τὴν περὶ ἀυτῶν ἔχειν διάθεσιν, as before in the first *Nicene* Council, *Can.* 12. of absolving from and removing, taking off such their Mulcts laid upon them, either in whole or in part; or adding farther degrees, suitable as their repentance and amendment, is perceiv'd, and approved, or not approved of, and this Power asserted in the Church by the great Council of *Nice*, and that of *Ancyra*, is the great instance of the self-existing, eminent, independent, underivable Power that is in the Church of Christ, wholly in her self, and in none else beside, as having Power to punish and relieve, to give Sentence and relax, in her own breast; this is, what is not done in the Civil Judicatures, where the Judge is in Deputation, who cannot correct his Sentence once given, make heavier or alleviate it, that is only in Soveraign Power, as the Lawyers speak; but the Bishop can do it, ὅπερ ἡ περὶ ἐπιτροπῶν ἴδιον ἐστι. *Photius Nomocanon. Tit.* 9. *cap.* 1. & 3. (*doctas videas & nuperas Annotationes in Can. Nicen.*), there was then believed and accounted a first and antecedent Right in the Church, to make (κάνονας, νομοθεσίαν) Laws and Rules, from which, out of Contempt and Opposition, there was not allow'd any Appeal to be made, to the Empire or Secular Power, or Judicatures, unless by way of imploring Patronage, for a better enquiry, as not Canonically executed, *Can.* 6. *Concil.* 2. *Gen. Constantinop. Can.* 107. *Concil. Carthag.* and he that proceeds otherwise παρὰ θεσμὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐκκαλεῖται,

κανόνας, and not according to the Rules and Laws of the Church, is to be cast out of her Communion, if a Lay-man; if a Presbyter or Deacon, he is to be deposed, never to be restored again, never admitted, but to Plead his Cause, *Conc. Antioch. Can.* 11, 12. and the Clergy-man is not to leave his Bishop in Matters of Strife, and go to, κοσμικα δικαστηρια, as the Power of the Realm is still call'd, the Secular Judges; or if he Appeal from his Bishop, it may be only, when the Case is with the Bishop himself, as a Party, and he is to appeal to the Provincial Synod, or the Metropolitan, Exarch, or Patriarch, *Can.* 9. *Concil. Gen. Chalcedon.* or he may ask and Petition the Emperor, that he interpose with his Power over all Persons in all Causes, for a farther Enquiry by the Bishop when Justice seems to be not understood, or to be denied, *Can.* 107. *Conc. Carth.* the Sin of Schism is still defined to be, when a Presbyter makes a Congregation, and makes an Altar καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, in despite and contempt of his Bishop, *Can.* 31. *Apost.* and so *Can.* 6. *Concil. Gen. Constantinopolit.* διϊστάντας τῆς ἑνότητος, when they unite for Religious Services in opposition to their Bishop; and *Can.* 31. *Concil.* 6th. in *Trullo.* and *Can.* 5. *Concil. Antioch. Can.* 10. *Concil. Carthag.* 'Tis more expres, If any Presbyter or Deacon, contemns his own Bishop, separates from the Church, and makes a private Congregation and Altar, and disobeys farther, his Bishops Summons, to render him accountable for so doing, he is to be deposed, and if he perseveres to make farther troubles in the Church, Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. διὰ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐξουσίας ἂς σπουδὴ, as a Seditious Person, the outward Secular Power is to Chastise him, *Can.* 5. *Concil. Antioch.* where we have a thorow distinction of the two Powers, with their Offices; and the Canon goes before, that of the Church is antecedent; and therefore when *Constantius* went to cast some Bishops that were clamorous and contentious out of the Church, *Eleusius* with *Sylvanus* and others, told him, That he had Power τῆς τιμωρίας of the outward Punishment, what reach'd the Liberties and Advantage of his Person; but 'twas theirs to judge τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀσεβείας, of Piety and Impiety, *Theodoret. Eccles. Hist. l.* 2. *c.* 27.

§. XIV. I know it will be here reply'd, this was only the Judgment, Declaration and Practice of the Churchmen themselves, or some Historians their Creatures, Men Ambitious and Industrious, to keep and confine to themselves that Power which the present Circumstances and Necessities gave occasion, even Necessity, to Profess and Practice, the Powers of the World being not become Christian, and which though it bears no Objection, as in it self; for, what ever of ill Church-men might design thencefrom, sure it is, this sort of Truth and Power relating to Christianity, was designedly and professedly committed and intrusted in the hands of Church-men alone, and by Christ himself, with whom he has promised to be, to the end of the world, and always, without any intermission, and never to forsake them. And 'tis as certain again that this is an evil *Machiavel* design, against all Religion, in every instance of it; thus

thus professedly, endeavouring to wrest it Chap. 2.
out of their Hands, to lodge its Possession, Care and Preservation elsewhere, in the Laity; or at the best, in Kings and Secular Governors, by the flattery of a new Honor and Prerogative cast upon them, the easier to gain their assistance, and with more Success to manage their main design. Is it not now the common Discourse of the Many? Religion, and which is still by that sort of Men whose Design is to have no Religion at all, complain'd of and lamented, as decay'd and lost? what can never be retrived, or this done, continued by Church-men, whose purpose is only, by their Pride and Ambition, to usurp and incloſe all into their own hands, to have within themselves an Arbitrary, Autoritative, Absolute Rule and Governance over Mens Faith and Persons; and the very title of a Clergy-man gives a suspition of either Unfaithfulness or Insufficiency; 'tis what is managed by the great *Hugo Grotius*, That Religion is not to be entrusted with, nor can it, as it ought, be promoted and propagated by the Bishops and Councils, the Prince is alone capable of it; though it is in his raw indigested youthful Book, *De Imper. Sum. Potest. in Sacris*, and his Posthumous Work, after all, he then ran with the present Croud he was ingaged in, as himself afterwards acknowledges; and much certainly is to be attributed to those Untheological barbarous Proceedings in the Synod of *Dort*; which was to be sure fresh in Memory, if not actually on the Stage, when he was in those his Meditations; they allowing

Chap. 2. neither Humanity, nor Argument, to such as were Remonstrants, whereof *Grotius* was one, that is, not of the Calvinistical Presbyterian, both Faith and Faction, and that in every Point, as they required. Deprivations, Banishments, were their Ordinary Punishment, and the like Cruelties; nay worse, and more rigorous Proceedings, which was by the *French* Calvinists at that time, upon the same score, and that too, upon their own Brethren of the Reformation; whereof *Peter du Moulin* was the Head, and great Manager; of which a bitter taste and such an act of Tyranny, as no Story can Parallel, is to be had in the Life of *Episcopius*; upon these Reflexions in all likelihood it is, that we find not only *Grotius*, but those, otherwise, Learned and Ingenious Men, on the Remonstrants side, still to inveigh against Synods, and the unfitness of Church-men to Preside and Rule, where such controverted Cases are on foot, to be debated and determined, asserting the Prince as much the fitter Person, *Oppression makes the Wise man Mad.* All which is to be seen of any that are Conversant in those Transactions, particularly in the Epistles of those learned Men lately collected in one Volume, and Printed at *Amsterdam.* I shall therefore to take off the shew and appearance of this Objection, upon what account soever it was made, Vindicate the Integrity of true Church-men, as well as farther assert this great Truth now in hand, by adding, to what has been said already, the Publick Acknowledgments and Declarations of the Christian Emperors themselves. That Church-

Power

Power thus removed from them, is no injury to their Crowns and Jurisdictions, thus seated and limited in the Bishops and Church-Officers only, is no Usurpation on their parts; 'tis what is really existing in them. Chap. 1.

§. XV. *CONSTANTINE*, the First Christian Emperor, continues the same style, and owns the same Power in the Church, which he found in it at his Conversion, and receiving Christianity, in his Epistle to *Anulinus*, he says of *Cecilianus* the Bishop, ἐφέστως, that he is Chief, and hath a Government, as a Churchman, in that Province, over which *Anulinus* was placed by himself, as a President in Seculars; and enjoyns him that they that serve at the Altar be freed from all Publick Services in the State, the better to attend it, *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib.* 10. *cap.* 7. he calls the Bishops πρόεδρους ἐκκλησιῶν, in *Vita Constantini, lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. and *cap.* 46. προεστηκότας ἱερατικῶν, he writes to the Bishops as Governors, having Jurisdiction, not in Secular Affairs, that belongs to the Presidents of Provinces, or the *Prefectus Pretorio*, to whom he there directs them for assistance, and this is yet clearer in that his known saying to the Christian Bishops, when entertained by him, ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατασταθείς, *You are appointed by God as Bishops of those things which are within the Church; I am appointed by God as a Bishop of those things which are without*, De Vita Constantini, *lib.* 4 *cap.* 24. and what is meant in the Ecclesiastical sense of it by τὰ ἐκκλησίας, appears plainly by

Chap. 2. a like Phraſe in the Tenth Canon of the Council of *Carthage* juſt now made uſe of by us; where to diſobey the Biſhop is Depoſition, and if they be ſtill turbulent in the Church, and go on to Sedition, διὰ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐξουσίας, the word but a little changed, the outward Secular Power is to Chaſtiſe them, *i. e.* by outward Penalties laid upon them, the buſineſs and work of every Prince being to Defend and Protect the Church; or if, ἔξωθεν, be interpreted, to relate only to the World, *i. e.* thoſe that are not Chriſtians, as ſome would have it; and ſo, the meaning is, that *Conſtantine*'s Province is to govern them which are out of the Church and no Chriſtians, the Biſhops can take Cognizance only of ſuch as are in her Arms, and have ſubmitted to her Diſcipline; the two Juriſdictions are fully owned, as a part, and diſtinct, and the Empire only appears a loſer by the nicety; becauſe his right as from hence, in Church Affairs, and over their Perſons is denied him; Nor has *David Blondel* any ſuch reaſon for his clamorous Exceptions againſt *Rufinus*, in his Tenth Book of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *Cap.* 2. becauſe he brings in *Conſtantine* ſpeaking to the Biſhops upon the occaſion of ſome particular Quarrels that were amongſt them, and telling them, *Deus vos conſtituit Sacerdotes, & poteſtatem dedit de nobis quoque judicandi, & ideò nos à vobis rectè judicamur, vos autem non poteſtis ab hominibus judicari*, that God had conſtituted them Prieſts, and gave them Power of judging Kings, and they are with juſt Autority judged by them, but the Biſhops are not judged of Men;

Men; for it is all true in a duly confined and limited ſenſe, and in which we are to underſtand the Emperor there meaning it, the laſt Appeals being to the Church in ſome inſtances, and even Kings muſt come to Heaven by her Laws and Diſcipline, under their Spiritual Guidance and Juriſdiction; nor was this an undue or leſs Cogent Argument for *Conſtantine* to uſe to the Biſhops, for the laying aſide their Diſſentions in leſſer Matters, the occaſion of ſuch his Speech; it looking and ſounding very ill, that they who were his Judges in other Caſes, and in thoſe too of the higheſt concern, ſhould become liable to his juſt Cenſures and Reproof, by reaſon of their want of Love and Unity with one another; he argues with them for Peace, from the excellency of their own high Calling and Profeſſion, *D. Blondel*, it ſeems, had not diſcerned of the difference, betwixt a Power to determine for Truth, and that which by Coercive outward means, engages to, and maintains it, or at leaſt he would not own it; and 'tis over uſual, and well known a thing with him, to blunder and be clamorous againſt Eccleſiaſtical Writers, to run croſs to the received courſe of Church-Story, and thinks he does nothing unleſs he brings in abundance of Inferences and Corollaries, has not Examples, heap upon heap, as he has here, in how many Church Caſes, and of how many Clergy-men *Conſtantine* was Judge, as *Athanaſius*, *Caeciliauus*, *Euſtathius Antiochenus*, &c. and not one hits the Nail, all to no purpoſe; becauſe in other Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. Judicatures, and quite diverſe cauſes, than *Conſtantine* or *Rufinus* deſigned; only he amuſes and confounds the Reader. If leſs conſidering, he advantages and adds, to the great Tranſmarine deſign of bringing a diſrepute and baffle upon Church-Antiquity; all which is to be ſeen in his *Formula Regnante Chriſto, Cap.* 15. *Pag.* 175. 6. when the Biſhops Petitioned *Valentinianus* the Emperor, thoſe who aſſerted the *One Subſtance*, that they might be permitted to rectifie ſome Errors introduced, in the Explanation of it, the Emperor thus reply'd, ὑμεῖς μὲν καὶ τὰ λαϊκὰ πράγματα, ἃ θέμις τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμονεῖν. εἰ δ' ἱερεῖς ὄντες τάδε μέλει, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ βέλτιστα συνίτωσαν, *Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 6. *cap.* 7. That he was in the Order of the People, or Laity, and it would be over Pragmatical and unlawful for him to meddle with ſuch things, the Prieſts to whom the care of ſuch things do belong, are to go and conſult together where they pleaſe about it, and where we have the Power and Prerogative of the Empire giving leave, as to place of meeting; permitting it to their own choice and diſcretions; but the Church-Power it ſelf, is wholly and by himſelf removed from him, as not his Due and Right. And a Prince he was did not uſe to remit of his Rights, if really his, and knew well enough to Command and Retain them; as appears, That when firſt aſcending his Throne, and the Souldiery was impetuous, requiring him to chooſe a Partner in the Government, made this ſmart return, *You choſe me, fellow Souldiers, for your Emperour, and now what you demand is at my choice, within*

within my self, and at my alone disposal; you Chap. 2.
are to Obey, I am to see to the Government. Nor would he suffer them to proceed in their Demands, or farther to advise him, *cap.* 6. & 21. *Ejusdem libri.*

Ὁ τῆς μακαριότ. θρόν. So *Justinian* the §. XVI.
Emperor calls the See of *Constantinople*, the Throne of *Epiphanius* then Patriarch there, *Cod. lib.* 1. *Tit.* 4. *Ed. Gothofred.* and he evidently distinguishes betwixt Ἱερωσύνη and Βασιλεία, betwixt the Priesthood and the Empire, he assigns them two distinct Offices and apart Duties, ἃ μὲν τοῖς θείοις ἐπιτέτραπται. ἃ δ' ἀνθρωπίνων ἐξαρχόντα, τὰ δὲ ἐπιμελούμενα, one serving in Divine, the other governing and taking care in Humane things, *Novel.* 6. *Præfat.* he calls the Ecclesiastical Power, τὴν ἱερατικὴν θρόνον, and their Determinations, τὴν ἱερῶν ἀνάθεσιν, and to which ἡ βασιλεία σύμφωνον γίνεται. the Throne of Episcopacy, the Self-existing Power of the Priest, to which the Empire gives it concurrent Vote; and thus, θεσπίζει τὰ δὴ δικαιότατα συνδεδόμενα. the Bishop and the King, Divine and Humane going together, a full and due Sentence is given, *Novel.* 42. *Præfat.* And so again, θρόνων ἀρχιερατικῶν, *Ibid. cap.* 1. and τὴν ἀρχὴν, as over and over again, upon each occasion, he distinguishes betwixt Ecclesiastical and Civil Crimes, the Bishop is Judge of the Ecclesiastical, and the Judges of the Provinces are not to intermeddle with them; it is to be done κατὰ ἱερὰς καὶ θείους κανόνας, according to the Sacred and Divine Laws, and which his own Laws, those of the Empire, do not disdain to follow, καλλωπιζόμενοι τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ, *Novel.* 83. and *Novel.* 131. *cap.* 1.

Chap. 2. θεσπίζομεν, It is decreed, That τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνας, the Holy and Ecclesiastical Canons have the force of a Law, those composed by the four Councils of *Nicea*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*; whose Determinations we receive as Scripture; καὶ τοὺς κανόνας ὡς νόμους, and their Canons are Laws unto us. That there is something in the Priest that is not in the Emperor; though again, more in the Emperor, which is not in the Priest. *Theodosius* the younger declares, That he approaches the Holy Altar, only to Offer, nor does he stay within the *Sept.* καὶ οὐδὲν ἀγχιστεύσας θεϊκοῖς καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἁρμόσαιμι, or Pretend any thing to the nigher Divinity there residing, *Cod. Theodos. 9. Tit. 45. Edict. Imperat. pag. 367. Ed. Gothofred.* he calls the Ecclesiastical Ministry, *Principatum*, a Principality, or Power within it self, *Cod. 16. Tit. 5. Lex. 19. Leo* the Emperor, thus speaks of the Canons of the Church, διὰς ὀπνευστίας τὸ τοῖς θεσπεσμένοις ἐπιγένεσθαι, that they were spoken by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, *Imperat. Constitut. 2. pag. 693. ad finem Novel.* and that his assent goes along with, and he follows in his Determinations, the Ecclesiastical Canons, συνεπιψηφιζόμενος, *Constitut. 9. pag. 701.*

§. XVII. AND thus there is a plain Prospect, that the case, as to the Church, though not as to the Empire, was the same before and after *Constantine*, nor did he, or the succeeding Christian Emperors, alter any thing of the Church-Power, as not in it self, so nor by a change of its but Subject, asserted and practised, under those that were Heathen, the Empire

Empire only caſt in its aſſiſtance, added Nerves and Sinews, Strength and Corroboration to it; and for this we need have gone no farther than that laborious Collection *David Blondel* has preſented the World withal, in his Book *De formula regnante Chriſto, pag.* 373. where it is plain, there were ſtill acknowledged two diſtinct Empires in the World, two different Principalities, Governments, Kingdoms and Juriſdictions, and this as before, ſo after the Empire was Chriſtian; and the Publick Monuments there produced, run thus, *Sub Diocletiano Regnante Domino Chriſto. Sub Juſtiniano, Regnante Domino Chriſto*, &c. and ſo down to the Thouſandth year of our Saviour's Incarnation; and this, becauſe it is found ſometimes to run, only, *Regnante Chriſto*, and the Reign of the Empire is left out, though it do no ways infer and prove that all Empire is originally in Chriſt, both as to Spirituals and Seculars; and that he, that is, his Succeſſion, the Church, has the diſpoſal of the Kingdoms of the World too, Primarily and Originally in him, as ſome zealous Paraſites of the *Roman* Faith, thence, it ſeems, have inferr'd, and againſt whom the main Plot of *D. Blondel*, in this his Book is laid, and very well; yet this it infers, and evidently proves, That our Saviour and his Succeſſion the Church, have been always ſuppoſed to have had a Kingdom in the World, not to ſupplant and overturn, to uſurp, and encroach upon; but to bleſs that other of the World, to render it Proſperous on Earth, and by her holier Laws and Diſcipline to bring all to the

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Chap. 2. the Kingdom of Heaven, when the Reign on Earth is at an end. But this *D. Blondel* could not, or would not ſee himſelf; and therefore, a thing too uſual with him, runs into the oppoſite extreme to his Adverſaries, is angry when this very Church-Power and its exiſtence, of which himſelf gives ſo evident a Demonſtration, is aſſerted, ſolitary, and not in the Empire, as no ways flowing, and included in its Conſtitution; as the other will have no Empire, but from and in the Church (ſo hard a matter is it for ſome Men to contend for Truth, and againſt the Church of *Rome* at once) and as has above been obſerved; but theſe Overſights, if no worſe, are uſual with him, 'tis like his ill luck in other caſes.

§. XVIII. AND he that duly conſults and conſiders the ſundry Proceedings and Laws, and judiciary Acts of the Empire about Church-Matters, either as interſperſed in our Church Hiſtories, or as Collected and United in the two Codes, the *Theodoſian* and *Juſtinian*, in their ſeveral Laws, Novels and Conſtitutions, will readily grant all this, and more, that the Church and State, the Worldly or Secular, and Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual Power, were ſtill conſider'd, reputed and proceeded on, as quite diſtinct Bodies and Powers, though both flowing from the ſame Original and Fountain, yet as diverſe, as the Soul, and Body, with ſeveral Offices and Duties on each incumbent, in different Channels convey'd; and all aiming at the great and ultimate end, the general advantage of Mankind; and each individual, both with their faces

faces to the ſame *Jeruſalem*; but in ſeveral Paths, and Determinations judiciary in order to it. Hee'l find that as the Church, the Councils and Biſhops, were ever Conſcientious and Induſtrious, that they entrenched not on the Empire, withheld not from it what was its due; uſurped not any thing was not their own, paid all manner of Obſervances to Kings and Secular Governors, in all manner of Duties; as Prayers, Thankſgiving, Inſtructions, Directions, Admonitions, Tribute, Loyalty, *&c.* So again did the Empire preſerve their Functions, Perſons, and Eſtates; give them Liberties, Enfranchiſements, Proteſtations, (unleſs where Apoſtates, as *Julian*, where overmuch favouring Hereſies, as ſome time *Conſtantius*, &c.) countenanced and provided for Truth and Holineſs, and ſound Diſcipline, according to the Rules, Canons, Directions, Interpretations, and Determinations, given by the Biſhops aſſembled in Council, or occaſionally otherways made, and recommended unto them; the Church ſtill Petitioned and Supplicated the Empire, when by the Affronts and Inſolencies, the greater Impieties and Obſtinacies of the World, the edge of their Spiritual Sword was dulled and blunted, when Coercive outward Puniſhments alone could hope to prevail for Peace and Amendment; of this we have ſeveral Inſtances upon Record, as for the depoſing *Dioſcorus*, in *Evagrius* his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *l.* 2. *c.* 4. in placing *Proclus* in the Epiſcopal Throne, *Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. lib.* 7. *cap.* 4. which was immediately by *Theodoſius*, *Maximinianus*, the Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. the defuncts Body, being not yet laid in the Ground, to prevent the Tumults of the People. To this purpose we have the Case of one *Cresconius* a Bishop, who left his own, and invaded another's Church, and, upon a remand from the Council, refusing to return, the President of the Country is Petitioned, and his Secular arm (which alone has a Coercive Power over Mens Persons) sends him back again, according to the Constitutions Imperial, *Concil. Carthag. Can.* 52. just such another Case as that of *Paulus Samosetanus*, in the days of *Aurelian* the Emperor abovementioned, and the course of Proceedings we see is the same now as then, both in Church and State, as that Laws may be made to restrain such as were fled to the Church for refuge, *Can.* 60. that the Riot and Excess be taken away on their Festivals, which drew Men to Gentilism again, by the obscener Practices, and which were without shame and beyond Modesty, *Can.* 65, 66. that the Secular Power would come in *ubi quod Episcoporum auctoritas in civitatibus contemnitur*, because the Power of the Bishops is contemn'd in the Cities, *Can.* 70. *ut Ecclesiæ ordinem ferat*, to assist the Church against these Impieties, so strenuous and prevailing, *Can.* 78. as in the Case of the unrulier Donatists, *Can.* 95, 96. and the Thanks of the Bishops were given for their Ejection, *Can.* 97. and the Emperor is Petitioned to grant Defensors to the Church, *Can.* 10. 109. and as the Church thus supplicated the Empire in these arduous Cases, and when its assistance was wanting; so on the other side, did the Empire

pire ſtill adviſe with the Church, when Chap. 2.
deſigning to make Religion the Municipal Law of the Empire, to imbody it with the World, under the ſame Sanctions, either as to Puniſhments, or Rewards, to make it the Religion of the State alſo; they ſtill conſulted antecedent Canons, or preſent Biſhops in Council, or ſome Eccleſiaſtical Autority, they created nothing anew, gave the help of the World, for Countenance, Aſſiſtance and Confirmation, to ſtabliſh what the Church had put its Sanction upon. And thoſe Emperors that deſigned to diſcountenance Chriſtianity, or ſet up ſome particular Hereſie, and ſtifle it in part, or depoſe any great Church-men, and ſome ſuch there was, they attempted it not, but by the Clergy, though of their own, the Power as in themſelves alone, was not pretended to, they had their own Synods and Biſhops, in order to it, and what they did, was done in their Names alſo, and all this will readily appear to any one acquainted with the Canons of the Church, and Laws of the Empire, or if it ſeem too hard a task, he'l find it, at leaſt, attempted to his hand, and with Care and Induſtry, reduced to a little room, by *Photius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, in his Book, therefore called the *Nomo-Canon*, to ſhew the concurrency of the Laws and Canons, the Canons ſtill placed firſt, as in courſe anteceding. And in this ſenſe only, that of *Socrates* can be underſtood in the Proem to his Fifth Book of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ἀφ' ὧν χειραγωγεῖσθαι ἤρξατο (*Reges viz.*) τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πράγματα ἤρξατο, ἐξ ἀνάγκης. So

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Chap. 2. soon as Kings began to be Christians, the things of the Church were managed, and accomplished by them. By which things what is there intended, and what the Power came into the Empires hand by becoming Christian, the next words of the Historian clears, making the Instance, καὶ αἱ μέγισται συνόδοι τῇ ἀνωθεν γνώμῃ, γεγόναν τε καὶ λέγονται, and the greatest Synods were by their Appointment Summoned, and still are so. I'le bring here some instances of the Power and Procedure of the Empire, in Church Businesses to render all more conspicuous, if possible.

§. XIX. AND the first shall be this of Calling Synods, just now mentioned, the giving leave to Church-men to meet and unite in one Body, in a certain place of the Empire, limited to them; Publickly to enquire, examine, debate and determine in Religion, in which Councils, if the Emperor himself was not present in Person, he deputed some chief Minister of State there to represent him. Thus *Constantine* himself sat in Person, in the Case of *Cecilianus*, and the Donatists, *Miltiades* and the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Clergy debating it, as St. *Austin* tells us, *lib.* 1. *cont. Parmen. Donatist.* and *Flavius Marcellinus* is deputed afterwards by the Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, in a Collation of that Nature, as a Secular Cognitor and Supervisor, 16. *Cod. Theodos. Lex.* 3. *Tit.* 11. they exercised a Power and Cognizance over all Persons in these Causes and Meetings; they were then their Subjects, as before, and whom they commanded, and though such Members were obliged, at the Summons of the

the Biſhops themſelves, and by conſent among one another, to be preſent at the Council, to come in and appear there, *Can.* 80. *Concil. Carthag.* yet the Emperor retain'd a Power above them, and they might be abſent altogether, or depart after they had appeared, if the Emperor, τὰς ἐυσὶ γεγμμαι, μεταπαλῶσι, by his Letters required it, *Concil. Sardicenſ. Can.* 7. they had a Power over the very Cauſes themſelves, in theſe Conciliary, Clerical Debates and Determinations, and were Judges here; If all that was determined, ſeem'd not duly reported, or adjuſted, every ways clear and plain unto them; if ſcruples and doubts notwithſtanding, remain; if new matter propoſed, and adjudged conſiderable, by the adverſe Parties, *De Clericis judicantibus, Præſidet Imperator ipſe, & prout malè vel benè Judicat*, 16. *Cod. Theodoſ. l.* 42. *Tit.* 2. and which Law though inſtancing in ſome Immunities, as to Publick Secular things, yet holds in other Deciſions. So *Conſtantine* heard the Cauſe of *Cecilianus* and the Donatiſts a ſecond time, when the Biſhops had heard it before, and *Myltiades* of *Rome* was there, as above in St. *Auſtin.* And it was the ſuit of the Biſhops in the Council of *Chalcedon*, that it might be decreed by a Law, that all things at *Epheſus*, ſince the firſt Synod there; of which St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, was Chief, ſhould not retain any force, implying it in his Power to reviſe, and reconſider, and he may reexamine the Actions of Councils, *Compend. Act. Synod. Chalced. apud Evagrium. Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 2. *cap.* 18. And *Petrus de Marca* gives us ſeveral inſtances of the like Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. like nature, of Appeals made to the Empire upon the results of Councils, and he accepted them, *De Concord. Sacerd. & Imper. l. 7. c. 2.* that the Emperor had directed and limited in what Points, and how far to proceed, calling Councils only for particular occasions; as *De Marca, Ibid. & lib. 6. c. 22.* and all this the Security of the Empire required, in the common course of things, that no Men imbody, or unite locally, upon any Plea whatever, or Pretence of what Business soever, and not by his Warrant, under his Oversight and Protection, whose Designation and Commissions come not from him, and all which Christianity supposes, and declared for upon its admission into the World, and Kingdoms imbracing of it; it appoints every Man wherein he was called there to abide, if a state of Honesty and Justice; not, of that filthiness, sometimes reign'd among the Gentiles, and many times had a Chief Place in what they called Religious Worship, this Christianity was designed to rectifie and remove, but continue to *Cæsar*, the things that are *Cæsar*'s; adds new Obligations to Government, and gives new Arguments for Obedience to it; but cancels no one, takes no one subject, in any one instance, from under his Jurisdiction, nor can any Governor be secure upon other terms, that has so many Persons, so considerable, as so many Professors are, or at least may be, with Power to associate in his Jurisdictions as they shall please, and when, and not in all instances, relating to such their imbodying, his Subjects; or though, if not able to meet without

but his Call; yet when together, and not Chap. 1.
under his Inspection and Jurisdiction, not Govern'd by his Rules and Laws, with a Power to canvass and unhinge, to insinuate and propose and manage, as they shall list, and how long, *in Ordine ad Spiritualia*; if they judge it useful to Religion. This is the same in effect, as to meet at their Wills; no Government can bear it, can subsist on such conditions, all must, or may, at the Pleasure or Piques, of such the associated, be undermined and ruined. Again, the Empire is engaged, as to preserve the Laws of the Church then in being, so that in making new ones, those the old be not entrenched upon and affronted; or that the repeals be upon equitable accounts, and agreeable with the Catholick Faith, certainly received, with former Sanctions of either their Ancestry, or their own; and these we find the Rules and Directions given by the Emperors, *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, to *Flavianus Marcellinus* their Secular Cognitor, in the Debates about the Donatists, *Ea quæ circa fidem Catholicam, vel certa ordinavit antiquitas, vel Parentum nostrorum auctoritas Religiosa constituit, vel nostra Serenitas roboravit, Novella Superstitione remotâ, & inviolata, custodire præcipimus, suprà Cod. Theodos. 16. Tit: 11. l. 3.* and indeed it were an Imposition not to be indured in common Business betwixt one man and another, when but a private Consent, Confirmation and Autority is desired, to deny liberty of Enquiring, Demurring, Discoursing or Debating, or whatsoever may seem best to tend to Information, as to particu-

Chap. 2. lars; and then how insufferable, if not allow'd the Prince? when supplicated and call'd in by the Church, to make Laws, give the Royal Assent, Stamp and Character, and Protection, to their Results and Determinations, and which otherwise, must want the edge and advantage of it; and not upon a freedom to consider former Laws and Canons, made and ratified, with future inconveniences that may happen; this were indeed to make Princes Lacqueys, Hackneys, or what vile and mean enough we can say, to the Church, to debase them into the order of Ideots or Pageants; all true Church-men in their Offers and Proceedings have started at, and abhorr'd it. But then we are to note farther, that when the Emperors appear'd in Councils, whether themselves in Person, or by their Proxies and Substitutes, the most Politick and Prudent, the more Acute and Ingenious; as *Theodosius*, or any other, they acted there, and in these Church Debates, only upon the forementioned ends and purposes; to secure the common Reputation both of Men and Governors, and to see that former Sanctions be not violated to judge as to Matter of Fact, and what was Law and Canon before, and that nothing destructive be admitted and imbodied into the Empire, and which many times was deputed to the Bishops themselves; as we have instance in the Comments of *Jacob Gothofred, in extravagant de judicio Episcopali ad finem Cod. Theodos. l.* 1. (and so be sure the Empire never determined, but by the Clergy in any thing else) and the Enquiry was only this,

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an *Ordinavit Antiquitas?* that nothing thwarting was introduced, and imposed. Nor can *Theodosius* himself be supposed to have done any more, from the Relation made of him by *Socrates*, *Hist. Eccles.* l. 5. c. 10. or by *Sozomen*, l. 7. c. 17. where he is engaged in Points of Faith, and which is so much insisted on by those that resolve all Power into the Prince, in the determining and composing all differences arising in Points of Religion, *Vid. Grotium: bona fides Labberti*, 8. & *alibi*. *Theodosius* was an acute Man, and pursued his own Satisfaction, in those Points or Articles, he made Law, ἁπλῶς & ἰσχυρῶς and all he did upon his search was this, he concurr'd in the same Opinion with the Bishops, receiv'd their Reasons offer'd, and allow'd of the Grounds they proceeded on, and imbodied in the Empire the Decrees of the Council call'd by him at *Constantinople*, upon the occasion of the *Arians*; and other Business in the Eighth Chapter of that Book of *Socrates*. And so again in *Sozomen*, he gives out his Rescripts, for equal Honor to be given to the Persons in the Trinity; and declares those Hereticks which do it not, and enjoyns *Theophilus* to follow the *Nicene* Faith, for which the antecedent Church Canon is the rule, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 4, 5. 9. Chap. 2

§. XX. THE Laws of the Empire against Hereticks are many, and for the Rule of Faith, and its Unity, and against their meetings in the exercise of their Fancies, they are turned out of the Publick Churches, and expell'd the Cities, and whatever favour hath been obtained for a Penal-mitigation by bribed

Chap. 2. Courtiers misrepresenting (for such it seems there always was, and will be) the Grant is to be actually void, the Houses they meet in are Confiscated, they that have frequented them are Punished an Hundred Pounds, and such as continue at them, Fifty; no Man is to read their Books, they are all to be burned; none is to Petition in their behalf, their last Testaments are voided, they are not permitted to Buy or Sell, or Trade as do other Men; all their Gifts, Endowments, and Revenues, settled on their Sects, are transferr'd to the Churches use. Such of them as set up Schools and Teach, are to be animadverted upon *Ultimo Supplicio*, to be sure by a Punishment, greater than others; and they that learn of them are to Pay Ten Pounds. No Lay-man that is an Heretick, is to have or exercise any Government, lest they be vexatious to the Bishops and Christians, all the Moderators, Governors, and Under-Officers in Provinces that neglect to execute these Laws, or permit them to be violated, are to have a Mulct of Ten Pounds laid upon them. No Civil or Military Power is to assist them in erecting their *quasi Ecclesias*, falsly called Churches, *Speluncas fidei suæ*, under the Punishment of Twenty Pounds of Gold. He that entertains a Conventicle in his House, if (*vilis*) of the *Plebeians*, he is to be beaten with Clubs; if an Ingenuous Person, his Punishment is Ten Pounds; and if they go from their Conventicles to Mutinies and Sedition, 'tis present Death; and to such as frequent them, tis Proscription of Goods, with many more Penalties assigned.

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Some greater, and some less, as was the temper of the Law-Maker, and the apprehended Guilt, as greater or less the Heresie, of more or less danger in Church or State, even to some, as the *Manichees*, their Children were not to inherit; but then, who and what these Hereticks, and Heresies were; what made a Conventicle, or Schismatical Meeting, what constituted this Rule of Faith and Unity? this was not the work of the Empire, nor did it pretend to be Judge and Decide. She believed, as did the Church determine, whose Traditions and Confessions received Strength and Autority thereby, the Civil Arm and Power concurring; but the Catholique Faith is the Rule; and *Pradicationem Sacerdotum*, the Instructions of the Priests the Director. Nor is any one condemned by the Law, but such as are Strangers to, and neglect the Church, who are first condemned by her; and 'tis what Antiquity has ordained, appoints and constitutes. That Faith which St. *Peter* the Apostle Preached at *Rome*, and which was then follow'd there by *Damasus* the present Bishop, and *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Nectarius* of *Constantinople*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, *Diodonis* of *Tarsis*, *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, *Optimus* of *Antioch*, &c. Men led by the Apostolical, Evangelical Discipline and Doctrine; farther taught and recommended in the Four first Councils, *Determinantibus Sacerdotibus*, the Bishops there determining, and the Exposition of Synods, by the Imperial Autority and Laws called together. *Sacram Communionem in Ecclesia Catholica, non percipientes, à Deo ama-* Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. *amabilibus Episcopis, Hæreticos justè vocamus, Justinian. Novel.* 109. *Præf.* The Heresie in its own Nature consists here, when they unite and hold Communion out of the Catholick Church, not receiving of it from God's beloved Bishops, and so Schism is defined, μίαρεσιάρχαι τῶ Ἰδίω ἐπισκόπω, *Can.* 31. *Apost.* ἀπειθαρχήσαι τοῖς ἐπισκόποις. *Can.* 6. *Concil. Gen. Constantinop.* when they despise, and make Assemblies contrary to their Bishops. So also, *Can.* 31. *Concil.* 6. *in Trullo, Can.* 10. *Concil. Carthag.* and more expresly yet, *Can.* 10. *Concil. Antioch*, and which we have occasionally made use of before; if any Presbyter or Deacon separate from the Church, contemning his own Bishop, and makes a Private Congregation or Altar, ἀλλὰ συναγείραι ἐπιχειρῇ, as in the 10th Canon, *Concil. Carthag.* all which, concerning Schism and Heresie and Conventicles, with a great deal more may be seen at large, and in every particular, by whoso is conversant in the Canons and Church Proceedings, and Determinations; or, which may be of more Autority with him, at least not so liable to Scorn, and contempt, to whoso pleases to read *Cod. Justinian, Tit.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. *Theodos.* 16 *Tit.* 1. *l.* 28. and in the several Titles and Laws, with the various Novels and Constitutions treating expresly on these Subjects.

§. XXI. THERE are as many Laws and Directions Imperial concerning Ordinations; the Person to be Separate and Consecrated to the Ministry of what Order soever; whether Bishops, Presbyters or Deacons, perhaps many more, as indeed they are very numerous, giving

giving Rules for Elections; for the better diſcharge of their Duties, providing againſt Symony, for the daily Sacrifices, and Miniſterial Offices, in the Liturgy, and Service for the People; give Rules to the Biſhops what Presbyters are to be Ordained, inquires into, and gives Cautions and Charge for their Manners, for their Abilities, that they forſake not their Prieſtly Office, claiming the right of Inveſtitures. That no Church be built, but the Biſhop be firſt conſulted; for the maintenance of ſuch required there to officiate. That no Church be conſecrated without the Biſhop, no Ideot, or taken out of the number of thoſe *Qui vocantur Laici*, who are called Lay-men, preſently upon the entrance into Holy Orders, aſcend to an Epiſcopacy, he gives to the Clergy Poſſeſſion of their Churches, and they are all in Deputation, in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts from the Emperor, and in Religious Matters, he gives leave for the Collects or Meeting together, confers many Priviledges on their Perſons, in order to the better performing of ſuch their Offices, that no trouble or obſtruction be in Litanies, and Laws are given for the manner of their Celebration, takes care that they meet oft in Councils and Synods, enjoyns them reſidence on their Cures. He limits the number of ſuch as are to be Ordained, ſuitable to the Revenues of the Church, that there be not an Impoveriſhment and Contempt thereby, that none be Ordain'd, but to a Title, and in relation to particular Cures, or as the preſent Exigence may require. He exempts certain Perſons, forbidding the Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. Bishops to give them Holy Orders, as such as fly to the Church for Ease and Idleness, to shake off their Secular Offices and Duty, and be acquit of their Burdens, that they may enjoy the outward Priviledges and Immunities, the Clergy by the Bounty and good Grace of the Empire had granted unto them. Such as are actually in Publick Offices, to which thereby they become disabled, and the State is endamaged. As Captains, Centurions, *&c.* whom he remands to their first station, and hence some Laws we find, that the *tenues fortunâ*, the Poorer in the Church are only to be Ordained, though perhaps with less Prudence; and the reason was this, because the Church enjoy'd great Priviledges and Immunities, and the Rich too frequently ran to it, to shelter and advantage themselves in this World, a thing too common in our days, and the like Laws might not be amiss amongst us in some cases, when particular Men leave their Secular and Military Station, for the Profit and Grandure of the highest Church-men; he forbids that any Holy Offices or Ministerial Functions be usurped, *sine Sacerdote*, without a Priest, appoints that every one first receive Holy Orders, e're he attempts the Execution of the Publick Ministry, with more of the like Nature, and which are to be seen. *Cod. Justinian, lib.* 1. *Tit.* 2. 5. 14. *Tit.* 3. 9. 10. 11. 30. 31. 34. 36. 46. 52. *Cod. Theodos.* 9. *Tit.* 40. 15. 16. 45. 3. *Cod.* 12. 104. 115. 121. *Cod.* 16. *Tit.* 1. 3. *Tit.* 2. 1. 2. 3. 6. 18. 25. 32. *Tit.* 11. 1. *Novel.* 3. *cap.* 1. 2. and *Novel.* 6. 1. 4. 7. *Novel.* 16. 40. 46. 68. *cap.* 1. 2. 3. *Novel.* 78.

Novel.

Novel. 123. *Novel.* 131. *cap.* 8. 9. *Novel.* 137. Chap. 2.
but then, all this amounts to only what is ſaid to be the Office of an Emperor, *Commonefacere*, *Cod. Juſtinian. l.* 1. *Tit.* 3. to take care, warn, and ſee that all theſe things be done as they ought to be; the Rule is antecedent, and depends on another Authority, I mean where 'tis purely Religious, and Policy alone ingages not. The general Rule laid down and to be obſerved is this, *Ne fiant Ordinationes, contra interdictiones legum & Sacrorum Canonum, Novel.* 12. *cap.* 12. that all Ordinations be made according to Law and the Holy Canons, to the obſervation of that Rule, *Quam juſti & laudandi & adorandi inſpectores & Miniſtri Dei verbi tradiderunt, Apoſtoli & Sancti Patres cuſtodierunt, & explanaverunt, Novel.* 6. *Præfat.* which the Miniſters of the Word of God, the Apoſtles and Holy Fathers have kept and explained. The Emperor in his own Perſon, never Pleads for, or attempts the Sacred Action or Office of Ordination it ſelf, never yet laid any title to it; and the Biſhop upon his Ordination receives Secular Priviledges from the Emperor, to be emancipated and made free from that Service, which otherwiſe the Laws require of him, by his becoming a Spiritual Father; But the Ordination it ſelf, the Right of a Biſhop, is no where ſaid to be, or ſo claim'd from the Emperor, *Novel.* 8. *cap.* 3. and although it has been diſputed, only within this Hundred years, at leaſt it never reached any farther than the Whimſical Brains of ſome one or two, now and then, (and what Point of Faith eſcaped ſuch?)

whether

Chap. 2. whether the Power of Ordaining, has been in the Presbyter, or in the Bishop only, as a distinct Order and Superior to him, and how the Votes and Concurrences of the People, and in what degree of Necessity, they are required unto it, yet none ever asserted it to belong to any that was neither Presbyter nor Bishop; yet Antiquity is altogether silent as to the Prince in this case, the Church always removed, nor did the Empire ever claim it; this is still represented as the proper Work and Office of the Bishop; whatever the Empire did in the case, was by commanding the Bishop to Consecrate, when such an one is designed for the Function by himself, or assenting to the Election made by others; but if any more, and not of the like Nature, the Church of God and all understanding Christians did still look upon it, as not to be indured in any one, ἱερέως τυχεῖν, to act as a Priest, ἢ πάντως γε ἱερωσύνης τύχων, when never entitled to, or partaking of the Priestly Power, and it was never first conferr'd on him by any, it has been adjudged πολλῶν θανάτων ἄξιον, worthy of many Deaths; as in the case of *Ischyras* in particular, *Socrates Hist. Eccles. lib.* 1. *cap.* 27.

§. XXII. AND if we look into the Church censures, the Animadversions and Punishments, laid upon such as are unworthy their Christianity, that high Calling wherewith they are called in Christ Jesus: The case will appear the same as in Ordination in general; great and solicitous was still the care of the Empire, for the solemn, just and due execution of these Powers; a great many Laws and Constitutions

ſtitutions were made in order to it, ſeveral Cautions and Directions given, that none be interdicted without a juſt Cauſe, *Cod. Juſtinian, lib.* 1. *Tit.* 3. 30. That Excommunication be not for light Cauſes, 39. 1. That no Man be excluded the Sacred Communion, before Cauſe be ſhew'd, and for which the Laws and Canons have commanded it; and if any Excommunicates upon other accounts, the Perſon Excommunicated is to be abſolved, and receiv'd again into Communion, *Novel.* 123. *cap.* 11. and this with the greateſt reaſon in the World, for the Prince is *Cuſtos Canonum*, he is the Keeper of the Canons, and is to ſee that their Rules be duly executed, *Omni innovatione ceſſante vetuſtatem & Canones Priſtinos Eccleſiaſticos, qui uſq; nunc tenuere, ſervari Præcipimus, Cod. Juſtinian, l.* 1. *Tit.* 26. and 'tis as his Province and Work; ſo the great Mercy and Juſtice of the Empire, thus to conſerve Mens Liberties, not to have them expos'd to the Temporal Puniſhments, which always follow'd, and ſeverely too, upon Excommunication. Nor is it fit, that an Action of ſo great a weight and conſequence, every ways of ſo great a concern both as to Body and Soul, be altogether Arbitrary, at the Pleaſure, many times Pique of one Man, the Prince at this rate has not the Command of his own Subjects, and his own Laws may be executed againſt the intereſt of his Government; Excommunications are only then ſuppoſed to have effect, *Clave non Errante*, when duly executed according to Church Rules, of which the Prince is, or ought to be, the Con- Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. Conſerver; no one is ſuppoſed to grant Priviledges againſt himſelf, and as he enſtates certain Perſons, with ſpecial Immunities, ſo is he to enquire and to be concern'd, as upon the admittance into (as in the caſe of Ordinations juſt now conſidered) ſo upon an excluſion from them, otherwiſe his neither Favours, nor Puniſhments are his own, and his Power and Government may be weak'ned by it, *Ne Immunitatis Eccleſiaſticæ obtentu, munia Publica, vel nervi Reipublicæ conciderent, ad clericatum confugientibus iis, à quibus munia Publica, per Provincias ſuſtinebantur*, 12. *Cod. Theodoſ. Tit.* 1. 69. 104. 115, *&c.* which way ſoever his Subjects may be diſabled for the Service of the Empire, whether when Priviledges are too laviſhly and inconſiderately conferr'd, or Exemptions made, the reaſon is one, and ſo is the effect, in either, and the Prudence and Power of the Empire is to be imply'd alike, for Prevention of each, and ſecuring the Subject for his own, and the Subjects beſt advantage; and conſequently, both the Cenſures and Orders of the Church, when inflicted and conferr'd, are to be under his Inſpection. If the Empire come in with his Power to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen the Church, and Religion gains its outward aid and Protection, it muſt be in dependance on ſuch the Power Secular, whoſe Temporal Security, is to be conſulted and included in the Execution. The Plot and Contrivance both of our common Chriſtianity, and our common Reaſon, at once, do require it, and the ſame I have ſaid above, as to the Power of the Empire, in all Chriſtian Councils, call'd

call'd and protected by him. But the Emperor all this while is not found to Excommunicate, or Abſolve, in his own Perſon, by his own individual formal Act; that is a Power that depends upon another Head, is derived by a differing Stream, and to a diverſe Subject; it is not in the force of the Secular Arm, nor does the Prince lay a Claim or Pretence unto it, *Divina primum Vindicta*, the Divine Vengeance, *i. e.* Excommunication, paſſed firſt upon the Hereticks, inflicted by the Church, and then *motus animi noſtri*, the Puniſhments from the Empire, thoſe Penalties reckoned up before, and in part following, *Cod. Juſtinian*, *l.* 1. *Tit.* 1. And the ſame Emperor, ſome Biſhops falling under his Diſpleaſure, and adjudged worthy his Animadverſion, for leaving their Cures and coming up to *Conſtantinople*, under Pretence of Buſineſs about Religion, without leave, and to the expence of the Church; He ſays, he will not lay Pecuniary Mulcts upon them, (and which was all he could do, except Baniſhments on their Perſons,) but thinks Abſtentions to be more proper, δια ἀφέσεως τῆ, but this is to be done, either by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* himſelf, if he be a Metropolitan that offended; or if a Biſhop only of a City, by ſuch his Metropolitan, that he is under; and which is no otherwiſe the work of the Empire, then that he urges a due execution, *Ibid. Cod. Juſtin. l.* 1. *Tit.* 3. 43. So again the depoſition of a Biſhop, which is the ſame as Excommunication to a Lay-man, is it made, *reſidentibus Sacerdotibus*, by the Prieſthood it ſelf, a Synod of Biſhops, the Emperor

Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. ror only adds his Temporal Penalties; as, if he accept not such his Deposition, but is Seditious, and disturbs the Publick Peace, he be banish'd an Hundred Miles from that City where he had officiated, and which he had infested; 'tis the particular Punishment of the State, 16. *Cod. Theodos. Lex.* 35. *Tit.* 2. the very same we have again, *Novel.* 42. *Sententia Sacerdotum*, 'tis the Judgment and Sentence of the Priest makes the Deposition, the Empires Secular Arm seconds it, proceeds to a Banishment of his Person, and that his Books be burnt, ἀυθεντία, the first and original Right, being in the Clergy, *Prefat. Ibid.* & *Cap.* 1. and more expresly there, *Cap.* 3. 'tis the Appointment of the Emperor, that one *Zoaras*, amongst others, be anathematized; but it follows, ὁ ἱερεμίας ἄυλον καθιστάνει φόβον, the Priests Determination must pass upon it, ὡς κύριαν, καὶ ἀνῆκον ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ὄντα, which is the Churches own inward Autority, and derived from none, Κυριώτερον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ βασιλεία ποιῶ, only the Empire makes it of more Force and Autority; that is, by a Penal Mulct annexing Banishment unto it, as it there follows, and so 'tis promised for the future, whatever are the Church censures, βασιλικοῖς ἡμῖν ἀυτῶν νόμοις ἐπικυρῶμεν, the Laws Imperial shall corroborate and strengthen them, *ibid.* and so all along, the Church censuring, the Empire punishing, τὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης δόξαντα, τὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας κυρούμενα, *Epilog. ibid. Novel.* 42. and 'tis a Law of *Theodosius* the younger, that the Clergy-man that is unfaithful in his Duty, and retain'd Servants at the Altar, and gave them refuge to the

the diſadvantage of their Maſters, be depoſed by the Biſhop, or his Animadverſion be made, *ſub Epiſcopalis juriſdictionis Arbitrio*, according to his Diſcretion, and when degraded into the Order of a Lay-man, *Motum judiciarii rigorie accipiat*, he be given up to the Civil Magiſtrate, for farther Puniſhment, *Cod. 9. Theodoſ. Tit. 45. l. 5.* and of which more is to be ſeen in the Comments of *Gothofred* there. And indeed all the Cautions, Rules and Directions, given to the Biſhops in theſe inſtances, imply only that they might erre in the execution; the Power is all along ſuppoſed in the Church, nor is it by the Prince attempted; as he does not Excommunicate, though ſeeing juſt reaſon for it, ſo neither does he abſolve upon the unjuſteſt cenſures denounced; wherein one Prieſt has been defective, it has been enjoyn'd another, remitted, *Majori Sacerdoti*, to a higher Order and Juriſdiction, to the Metropolitan, or Patriarch, as was the Church Cuſtom to appeal to the Superior, *Novel.* 123. 11. So that we can readily yield to all that *jus Cæſareum*, Mr. *Selden* ſpeaks of, *De Synedriis, l.* 1. *cap.* 8. *pag.* 223. that *Cæſarian* Power both as to Excommunications and Abſolutions. And as Mr. *Selden* explains himſelf too, and allow his own inſtances, in the *Jews*, *Pag.* 234, 235. *Caligula Cæſar* laid an Inhibition upon them, and Baniſhed their Perſons out of *Rome*, and denied them the exerciſe of their Religion; which latter is the ſame in effect as Excommunication. As he there argues, this Inhibition was continued by *Claudius Cæſar* for ſome time, and afterwards quite taken Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. ken off by him, and their Religion was allow'd after their own manner again. The meaning of which can be only this, that the Laws of the Empire gave Licenſe and Indempnity to their Perſons in the ancient and accuſtomed exerciſe of it, and which they accepted and were thankful for. But does it hence follow that they acknowledged, and return'd their Original Right, either for their Worſhip in general, or Excommunication in particular, in, and to, *Cæſar*; and that they ceaſed to have any becauſe denied by the Empire? ſurely not; they only were more ſtreightned in its exerciſe, when under his interdict. Nor had they leſs right, or ſtood they leſs bound to its Obligations, in every reſpect, when this liberty was not conceded, under their Vaſſalage; and though the Empire own'd them not, even at this very time, *i. e.* during their Captivity, Mr. *Selden* ſays, they aſſumed this Diſcipline of Excommunication, or a naked Excluſion from outward Communion, by conſent among themſelves, the better to keep up, and preſerve this their Religion, when ſo ſuppreſs'd by the Civil Power, *Ibid. ſuprà, Cap.* 7. *pag.* 141. 143. *& alibi*; as they would not this day, in *England*, or in what other Countries they are diſperſed, therefore forego ſuch their Right, ſhould the preſent Government diſtreſs, and frown upon them. Nor do I know any one caſe or inſtance, coming up nearer to the ſtate of the Power and Right of the Prince in Eccleſiaſticks, and the Right of the Church, Abſolute too and Independent, than this of the *Jews* under the Empire; their Religion is from another

another Fountain, and the Empire does not derive it unto them, and *Gallio* the Secular Deputy, could discharge his Duty, without caring for any of these things, when the Matters were purely of their Laws and Customs; but yet their Persons, and the Publick exercise of it, are subject to this Government, and Jurisdiction, to limit, or enlarge, indulge, or recall, as may be the Reasons and Motives; and, is his Will and Pleasure. Thus it stood with the Jewish Church, in the days of our Saviour in the Flesh, and of his Apostles, and so it is to this day, where the Association, or imbodying is continued; nor did the Empire conceive its Power any ways intrenched upon or abated thereby, did he cease upon the account of their Worship, to continue to them his Protection; or had they any ingagement to withdraw their Obedience, only those uncircumcised in Hearts and Ears, which always resisted the Holy Ghost, and Crucified the Lord of Life; sometimes attempted Insurrections and Rebellions against him. Chap. 1.

§. XXII. BUT however it was with the Heathen Emperors in respect of the *Jews*, Mr. *Selden* positively says it, that the Christian Emperors did actually exercise the censures of the Church, judicially Anathematize and Excommunicate, in their own Persons and Rights, he having first swollen up himself with an Opinion, and a true one; too true it is, that himself is the great Searcher of Records and Authors, and Laws, of the Books and Practice of all Ages; and if the mighty, the laborious, *Selden*, has said it, it must be

Chap. 2. ſo, there can be no doubt of, there needs no other ſearch after it; otherwiſe he could never have ventur'd to obtrude it on the world, as out of the Imperial Code, that Princes have ſo Excommunicated, whoſe Laws, Declarations, Practice, Poſitive Aſſertions, and Dogmatical Reſolutions, are quite another ways, as I have already made it appear in theſe foregoing Pages; which Collection and Citations, if any one diſtruſt, let but himſelf peruſe the particulars, with much more that might be added out of the Nomocanon Church-ſtory, and Primitive Fathers, concurring with, and giving ſtrength, to ſuch the Relations; and the Grounds he delivers it from is ſuch, that a Man may ſwear, 'twas his bloated conceit of his Name at the Fount, like gild to the Pills, poſſeſſed with as aery a Phancy, that any thing would down of his wrapping up, in the following Pages, could engage him to it. I confeſs could any one have found ſuch things out, none likelier than he, his Zeal and Induſtry being ſingular, I wiſh his Integrity had been ſo too, he ſeldom miſſing of any thing within the compaſs of his deſigned ſubject, that may be any ways uſeful to his preſent Plot and Enquiry, had he as little fail'd in his uſe and applying of them. The places he produces for Evidence in his Treatiſe *De Synedriis*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. *pag.* 318. is out of the Sixteenth Code *Theodoſian*, *Tit.* 5. *Lex.* 6. where *Gratianus*, *Valentinianus* and *Theodoſius*, thus give the charge to *Eutropius* (not *Heſperius* as he) That all Hereticks, eſpecially ſuch as oppoſe the *Nicene* Faith, *Ab omnium ſummoti Eccleſiarum*

ſtarum limine, penitus arceantur, communione Sanctorum inhibentur, &c. with others to the ſame purpoſe in the following Laws, both here and in the *Juſtinian* Code. That *Juſtinian* oft, in his own Name, thus ſpeaks, *Anathematizamus, Anathematizentur, ſub Excommunicatione ſint*, &c. and which are to be found, *Code. lib.* 1. That ſuch be not ſuffer'd to come into the Church, be inhibited the Communion of Saints, *we do anathematize them, Let him be Anathematized, let him be under Excommunication*, &c. by which, all that can be meant, is only this, and which is the Province of every good Chriſtian Governor, to ſee that the Laws of the Church be duly put in Execution; that the royal Will and Pleaſure is, it ſhould be ſo; the Laws and Canons of the Church, the Rule of Faith to be believed and adhered to, requiring it, and to which his Imperial concurrence is annexed, which he confirms and ſtrengthens by his Autority, and will ſtand by in the Execution; as 'tis explain'd, *Novel.* 42. and that is to be his ſenſe, if the Codes may interpret themſelves, which is much more proper than for *Selden* to do it; it being there moſt certain that the judicial Act was from the Church, and Phraſes muſt be interpreted according to the preſent Subject, and deſigned Matter, and no more is meant, then, that Prerogative which we ſee to have been given always to all Godly Princes in Holy Scripture, by God himſelf, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and re- Chap. 1.

Chap. 2. ſtrain with the Sword the ſtubborn and evil doers, as 'tis expreſſed in our Seven and thirtieth Article; and he himſelf confeſſes unawares, in the next lines, having a Quotation to bring in, and cannot either omit it, or tell where elſe to do it, That they only ſimply judged them curſed of God, θεοστυγεῖς, as in the Georgick Laws; and that their deſign was, they ſhould be *notabiles*, and marked out for it, by whoſe act and judicial Sentence, 'tis not expreſs'd. And what he brings out of the Hundred and three and twentieth *Novel. cap.* 11. and *Photius* his *Nomocanon. 9. 9.* to prove it the Act of the Empire, is quite another thing, and none but he arrived to that ſtrange Preſumption; as to believe, that every one that reads his Book is ſworn to his Name and Words, could poſſibly have produced them. The Emperor only there takes care that Excommunication be according to the Church Canons, ſuitably, as *Eccleſiaſtici hoc Canones fieri jubent*, (in the Nomocanon) the formal Power and Act is always ſuppoſed to be in, and to be done by the Biſhop, or Prieſt; if the Biſhop or Presbyter Excommunicate otherwiſe than as the Canons enjoyn, the Perſon ſo Excommunicated is to be abſolved by another Biſhop, or Presbyter, who has the inſpection of them, *à Majore Sacerdote* in the Novel; and that Biſhop or Presbyter that did the wrong, is to be cenſured by the Biſhop, under whoſe Inſpection, or in whoſe diſtrict he is, and lye under the Mulct at his Pleaſure; nor is there one word ſounds that way, that the Emperor did Excommunicate. Nor

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can the Emperor with any more ſhew of reaſon, be ſaid to paſs the formal Sentence of Excommunication, by taking care, and making Proviſion that it be done according to the Laws and Canons of the Church, than he can be ſaid to make Articles of Faith, and determine in the high Points of the Trinity, for which he appoints that the firſt Council at *Nicea* ſhall be the Rule, and often enacts and reſolves it ſhall be ſo explain'd and believed, and profeſſed accordingly, as in that Council. He may as well be ſaid to make Creeds, which he enjoyns to be done, but by the Patriarchs and Biſhops, and the particular Faith, to be profeſſed by them, or to Baptize, for which Directions are given, eſpecially about Re-baptization, and he judges him unfit for the Prieſthood, that does it, *Cod. Juſtinian. l.* 1. *Tit.* 6. *Ne Baptiſmus iteretur*, he may no otherwiſe be ſaid to Excommunicate, than to obſtruct Converſion, or hinder Repentance; and yet 'tis the Imperial Edict againſt, and Puniſhment upon Apoſtates, *Nè unquam in Priſtinum ſtatum reverterentur, nè flagitium morum obliterabitur Pœnitentiâ*, *Cod.* 16. *Theodoſ. Tit.* 6. *l.* 1. that they are never to return to their ancient ſtate, that the vileneſs of their Manners be never blotted out by Repentance, intimating only the greatneſs of the Sin, and the height of his indignation againſt them; or that he did publickly officiate in his own Perſon in the daily Sacrifices, becauſe he takes care for a juſt Performance of the publick Liturgies and Services, and when he declares againſt Oaths and Blaſphemies, that the guilt is not

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Chap. 2. antecedent, and from another Sanction, *Novel.* 78. and to put an end to these like instances, that he Ordains in Person, and makes Priests, by whom so many Laws and Rules, and Limitations, and Qualifications are set and appointed, as is above to be seen. But as for this last instance, Mr. *Selden* has found out so handsom an expedient for the Original of Holy Orders otherways, and thereby renders them so accidentally trifling, inconsiderable a thing, that he answers his aim, evacuates and baffles so effectually, all Church-Power; and indeed, upon his Hypothesis, so inconsiderable a thing it is, that a Churchman would not desire it upon such terms; much less is it a Prerogative fit for a King; a Jewel for the embellishing the Crown Imperial, so that he needs not contend to have this in the Magistrate as he doth the Church Censures; He tells us, *De Synedriis, lib.* 1. *cap.* 14. *pag.* 569, 570, 571. and *lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. *pag.* 313, 314. *&c.* That Holy Orders has no more in it, than an imitation of that particular School, wherein St. *Paul* was educated under *Gamaliel*; where it was usual for one that had arrived to a degree of Eminence above others, as that of a Doctor; to appoint and send out others under, and after, him. And so St. *Paul* did in the managery of his Apostleship. But did our Saviour also take this great Example of *Gamaliel*'s School in his Eye, when he sent forth his Twelve and Seventy? or was it from his particular Education in some such place, he took his Autority and Platform? or did the Holy Ghost do the like, when placing Overseers in that Church,

Church, which Christ had Purchased with his own Blood? was not, as the Purchase, that of his own Blood, so the Power by which he gathered and established it, that All Power in Heaven and Earth, first given unto him, peculiar and extraordinary? or did St. *Paul* himself say, it was from *Gamaliel*'s School, or from the Will of any Man, or from the Will of God, he received his Apostleship himself? and thereby had a Power to depute others, as *Timothy* and *Titus*. And surely unless his bare fiction of Story, and *Europian* Plot, must go for Truth, and without any search and enquiry; there can be nought in it to engage any assent, or adherency unto it; it is so precarious a begg'd thing, that only those that deserve to be begg'd themselves can believe it; and Mr. *Selden* doubtless pleased himself mightily, to think how many fools it would meet with, and he was sure of others of as ill a mind and design with himself, to tread under foot the Ministry when it was down, that it rise no more, especially at that time, when he wrote, at least, laid the contrivance of, those his Tracts *De Synedriis*, when the Sword of the Libertine alone bore rule, and he took the advantage of it. Nor has any one reason to believe that he bore better Will to the King than to the Church, for he was a Member of that Rebellious Parliament of Forty Two, and continued actually amidst them, and bore a special sway in their Traiterous Actings; and however his Pretence was, That all Church-Power as from Christ was an Imposture; and invading the Prerogative Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. of the Crown, it was in reality only to serve his Parliamentary Designs, to take away the chief Support of the Crown, that Church which mostly upheld it; and 'twas a sadder Sight yet, to see it, not only the usual fate of common Subjects, but the Case of the greatest Prince then in *Europe*, to be first stript of his Crown and Kingly Power, to be made and publish'd a Bankrupt in the State, lost as to his worldly Imployments, and then made a Priest, to have only the Power and Benefit of his Clergy, remaining in, and confirm'd unto, him.

§. XXIV. THE sum of all is this, The Empire it self never made any thing Law, that related to the Church, but what was first made Canon, by the Church it self, and those Powers always took their Direction from Church-men, either in full Council, or from the Practice of particular Churches, or eminent Bishops of the Christian World, and superadded their own Sanctions, put under it their Secular Arm, adjoyn'd their Autority, to support, and establish them; all those Directions to the several Patriarchs, Exarchs, Primates and Metropolitans, were only to see their own Results at Councils practiced, all the Edicts, Laws, Novels and Constitutions, were first Church-Law, and then the Law of the Empire, receiv'd into the World and imbodied with it; and all the Injunctions, Rules, Directions and Limitations, we there meet withal, were Rule before, only the outward Penal Coercive part (which Power the Church never had, never pretended to) was conjoyned with them, for the surer more due Execu-

Execution, even where the Empire was inclined to Hereſie, as ſometimes it was; their own Biſhops and Councils were firſt call'd and conſulted, their Advice and Directions followed. What was purely Secular, the Emperor's own, and of himſelf, was his Grace and Royal Favour, in condeſcending and yielding to the Church's Determinations, and the many Immunities he inveſted their Perſons withal, were all his own choice, as it was to be a Chriſtian, no Power beſides could, none attempted to, force it upon him; none ever made Canons, but Church-men; that is, Rules purely relating to the Church of God, only the Prince has the outward Coercive Power, by force, and bodily preſent Penalties to conſtrain and compel their Execution. Or where Princes aſſumed of their own devices, as particular Extravagant Actions ſtill have been, and will be again; nor do they amount to the breaking a general Rule, the Church ſtill ſo far oppoſed, as to remonſtrate upon the encroachment, to aſſert their Supreme Power as from Chriſt, although they ſuffer for it, and after Emperors have altogether voided them. This I have already made good in part, and it will farther appear from the ſeveral Emperors Conceſſions, Acknowledgments, and Declarations to the World; that none but bare, open, foreheads to any thing, dare gainſay it. Chap. 2.

HONORIUS and *Theodoſius* the Emperors make Laws and imbody in the Empire, what Canons they found made, and if any farther Doubts ariſe, they are to be reſerved *Sanctio* §. XXV.

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Chap. 2. *judicio*, for the Holy Judgment of the most Reverend Patriarch of *Constantinople*, as Supreme in Religion, and to the Convention of the Clergy, *Cod. Justinian, l.* 1. *Tit.* 2. *Lex.* 6. and which he transcribed out of the *Theodosian Cod.* 16. *Tit. l.* 45. and, by receiving into his own, confirmed. *Valentinianus* and *Marcian* make void all Pragmatick Sanctions, which by Favour or Ambition were gained against the Ecclesiastical Canons, 1. *lib. Tit.* 12. *l.* 1. *Zeno* calls it the state of Tyranny, where there is Innovations against the Church, and its setled Constitutions, he calls the times wicked, and those Laws and Constitutions impious, and confirms all the Priviledges his Royal Predecessors had granted to Holy Church, *Lex.* 16. *ibid.* 'Tis Decreed that all the Canons or Holy Ecclesiastical Rules made by the Four first General Councils, obtain the force of a Law, *Novel.* 131. *cap.* 1. Nor can we think that the Christian Empire could do less, when these very Canons are esteemed by them as the Holy Scriptures, *ibid. Novel.* 131. Θείας ἐπιπνοίας, ἐν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπιγράφει, God himself directing the Speakers of them. As *Leo* the Emperor of the Canons *in General. Constitut.* 2. *ad finem Novel.* and which Expressions, though they might be over extravagant; yet it shews to the World, how the Emperors thought of the Autority and Canons of the Church, what a Precedency they gave unto them. *Justinian* openly speaks it, and calls them *Sacras & Divinas Regulas*, Holy and Divine Laws, *Quas etiam nostra sequi non dedignantur leges*, and that himself in

in framing his Laws, does not diſdain to follow them, and which he Commands his *Præfectus Prætorio* to make known by Publication to the whole World, *Epilog. ibid.* and *Novel. 6. Epilog.* what he enjoyns all Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Biſhops and Clergy, under a civil Puniſhment, if not obſerving it, is only what Church-men had before appointed: 'tis all κατ' ἐξ θείων κανόνων δίκαιον, τὸ ἐξ ἐθισμοῦ, by virtue, and in obſervancy, of the Sacred Canons foregoing, σύμφωνος ἡ βασιλεία. βασιλικῆς νόμος ὑπογράμμα. τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόξαντος. τοῖς ὑπὸ βασιλείας κεκυρωμένοις, the Judgment of the Empire concurs with that of the Church, adding Nerves and Autority to its Predeterminations, and what to the Church ſeemed moſt convenient, *Novel. 42. cap. 3.* ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατορίζομαι. *Zeno Imperator. Conſtitut. 9.* when the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* required of the ſaid Emperor *Zeno*, that it might by the Law of the Empire be determined, concerning the time of Baptizing Children, and reſolved him that he might do it without a formal Council, (which to call together to conſult only about one Point, might be inconvenient) being directed as to the particular Matter; the Emperor yielded to him, but told withal the Patriarch, Such things were to proceed from the Church, and not originally from him; and that in Holy Matters his Holineſs ought to paſs the Sanction, *Conſtitut. 17.* and if in theſe leſſer things, and Circumſtantials, much more in the weightieſt Church-Matters, as Abſtentions, Excommunications, Depoſitions, is the Church to be followed, are her Determi- Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. terminations and Judicial Acts to precede, and so they did. Among all the Temporal Punishments upon Hereticks and Schismaticks, none was inflicted, till by the Councils and Bishops rejected, the Clerk that is unfaithful in his Office, the Bishop is commanded first to depose him, and then follows the Secular Judgment; as in the *Theodosian Code. supra ultimum Supplicium*, a farther Punishment succeeds, and which *Dionysius Gothofred* interprets to be Death, in his Notes upon *Cod. Justinian, lib.* 1. *Tit. lib.* 3. 3. (though I cannot assent to him in that, finding no Sanguinary Laws in those Cases) with many more of the like Nature which we have already produced.

§. XXVI. AND now I think here is opportunity sufficient for *Information*, to any one into whose hands these Papers shall come, or that will receive it, what the Church-Power is in it self, and what the Power of the Empire, in Religious Matters; And particularly for Dr. *Tillotson* Dean of *Canterbury*, who in his Sermon *April* 2. 1680. Pag. 11, 12, on *Joshua* 24. 15. has thus expressed himself: *And to speak freely in this Matter, I cannot think (till I be better informed, which I am always ready to be) that any Pretence of Conscience warrants any Man, that is not extraordinarily Commissioned as the Apostles and first Publishers of the Gospel were, and cannot justifie that Commission by Miracles as they did, to Affront the Establisht Religion of a Nation (though it be false) and openly draw Men off from the Profession of it, in Contempt of the Magistrate and Law, all that Persons of a different Religion can*

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in such a case reasonably Pretend to, is to enjoy the Private and Exercise of their own Conscience and Religion; for which they ought to be very thankful, and to forbear the open making of Proselytes to their own Religion (though they be never so sure that they are in the right) till they have either an extraordinary Commission from God to that Purpose, or the Providence of God make way for it by the Permission of the Magistrate. That there has been always a Spiritual, Ecclesiastical Power in the World, as derived, and received once by the Holy Ghost, and not of Man, so preserved, and propagated, devolved and continued from the same Fountain, in order to the first great end, for the support and continuance of the same Religion, though the *extraordinary Commissions* have ceased, which the *Apostles* and *first Publishers* of *the Gospel* had, though by present *Miracles* not to *be justified.* And this equally enabling and warranting the Church of God, such as can evidence the Succession of Power, in its own and appointed way, as when *Miracles* were annexed, to *affront*, is an improper Speech, but to Teach, Declare and Protest against *the Establish'd Religion of a Nation* if a *false one*, *openly to draw Men off from the Profession of it*, *in Contempt*, is again an ill Expression, but in different ways and rules of Duty, then those *false* ones of the *Law and Magistrate*; though the Men of the World do Publish their dislike and threaten and punish, and go on into a *Law* against them, as they did when Christianity was first Taught, and Church-Power first came down, was setled and professed in the World; Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. World; though the Kings of the Earth ſtand up together, and the Rulers take Council, they riſe up as one Man, as did *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, and all the Gentiles, againſt the Child Jeſus; as it was then the Apoſtles, ſo is it no leſs our Duty, thus to ſpeak before Kings, and not be aſhamed. Church-Power came firſt into the World, as not from the School of *Gamaliel*, ſo nor from the Thrones of Kings; and 'tis independant and diſtant as in its riſe, ſo in its execution, though embelliſh'd, aſſiſted and ſtrengthened, advantaged much, by the outward favours of Princes, their many Adjuncts and royal Appendages, and which where conferr'd, will equally embelliſh and add to their own Crowns, to be ſure, in Heaven. And upon theſe terms to ſuffer, will be our Duty, if what we profeſs be not received, it will amount to Martyrdom. If the King's wrath be the return, and our Doctrine with our ſelves be caſt out; and if we do not this, it will come too near the Traditores, in the days of the Donatiſts, or to thoſe that offer'd at Heathen Shrines in the Perſecutions before, what will it be, but to give up our Bibles and Profeſſion, upon the Summons of any prevailing Party, to give up, to be ſure, our Church-Power, and which amounts to, in effect the ſame; nor can Chriſtianity continue without it, when upon Perſwaſion of the *Arians*; firſt, upon point, as he thought, of intereſt, receiving his Father's Will from an *Arian* Prieſt; and then by the *Miletians*, joyning with them, *Conſtantius* the Emperor engaged againſt the Faith of *one Subſtance*; and

and great and rigorous Perſecutions were its Chap. 2.
conſequent. *Athanaſius* and his followers, that adhered to the *Nicene* Faith in that Doctrine, did not therefore in point of Conſcience ſubmit, and ſay nothing, with but ſilence, give over and deſert the Truth; but the rather were more vigorous, and active for it, even to the greateſt Calumnies and Diſtreſſes, which through the malicious inſtigations of the *Arians* and *Meletians*, (as evil Men always unite againſt Truth) the Emperor laid upon them. And though *Liberius* of *Rome* and *Hoſius* of *Corduba*, (this latter the ancienteſt Biſhop then in the Chriſtian World, and who was one of the Council of *Nice*, and Penned that Creed,) and *Gregory Nazianzen*, and others, even the whole World becoming *Arians*, (as St. *Jerome* complain'd) by the height of Threats, and ſucceſſion of Miſeries, after ſharp trials and reſiſtancies, did at length ſubmit and ſubſcribe to their Doctrines, yet it coſt them both repentance and tears; as *Gregory Nazianzen* declares in particular in the Life of *Athanaſius*. And all this they did, and thought themſelves bound in *Conſcience* to do, not as *extraordinarily Commiſſioned as the Apoſtles and firſt Publiſhers of the Goſpel were*, as warranted and juſtified by *Miracles*, but as commiſſionated, in courſe by their Holy Orders, inſtated with the ſame Autority, though not in ſo open a ſhew, and equally bound to render an account to God, of ſuch their truſt and charge committed then and therewith unto them, as the ſame Stewards of his Myſteries, and this, not upon the receipt of any new

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Chap. 2. Revelation from Heaven; but upon the score of their ordinary Ministry, contending for the Faith once delivered to the Saints, guided and directed by the Tradition of Faith, delivered by the Apostles, and conserv'd in the Church by a continued devolution, and to which St. *Athanasius* and all the Catholick Bishops, which strove against Arianism, always referr'd themselves, and is evident on all Occasions from Church History; as *Socrat. Eccl. Hist. l.* 2. *c.* 46. *l.* 3. *c.* 7. *Athanasius, ad Serapion. ad Epictet. Ep.* that Faith into which, when recommended to him, and explain'd, the Emperor *Theodosius* was Baptized, *Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l.* 5. *c.* 6. upon which rule all the Councils proceeded, in their Conciliary Acts and Determinations, as *Can.* 13. *Conc. Nic.* 1. *Can.* 19. *Conc. Hab. in Trullo. Can.* 2. *Conc.* 2. *Nic. Athanas. Orat.* 1. *Cont. Arios*; and they proceeding upon this bottom what they Decreed, is to be receiv'd for Truth by all Christians, is to be subscribed and assented to, is to be taught before Kings, when denying of it; 'twas this *Theodosius* himself acknowledged at his Death, 'tis reputed as the Law, the Voice of God himself, as St. *Basil ad Diodorum* among his Canons, *apud Pandect. Can. Beverig.* and so by *Constantine* the Emperor, in *Socrates, Hist. Eccl. l.* 1. *c.* 9. *& Sozom. l.* 1. *cap.* 20. 25. and in particular, it will be expected, that that common ἀποσόγγυσον, that usual shift be omitted, so usual among us, when this known Power of the Church is urged. That 'tis accidental only in its Original, introduced by the pre-

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ſent neceſſity, and upon a common conſent and compact; the Chriſtians being then under Heathen Governors, to whoſe Judicatures it was neither for their Safety nor Honor to Appeal, and ſtand their Trial and Verdict; and therefore they reſolv'd it all into the chief Church-men, and which Power, *Conſtantine* becoming Chriſtian, and ſo the ſucceeding Emperors, confirmed by his Royal Autority, and continued, of his own choice and motion unto them. This is the common tattle of the wiſer Men, as they think, and are generally ſo reputed, reporting it to the World, with much Confidence; and yet upon no other ground than old Womens Stories are told and bottom'd, at the fartheſt; they'l tell you, that Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Hobs* ſaid ſo; and every one is as ſecure of its Autority and Credit, as if they had read it in the Goſpel of our Saviour, or in one of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, when 'tis all as falſe as the Goſpel it ſelf is true. Great and many were the Priviledges, Royal Favours and Immunities, that *Conſtantine* beſtow'd upon the Church and Church-men, he receiv'd them with both hands, and with him in the Comedy, could he have found a third, he would have gave it them. He annex'd to them Adjuncts and Appendages, which their Lord and Maſter, Chriſt Jeſus, did not, could not, would not do, his Kingdom being not of this World; nor was it his buſineſs to divide Inheritances, and he had all the reaſon in the world for it, *Chriſtianus nulli Inimicus præſertim Imperatori*, as *Tertullian*; a Chriſtian is an Enemy to no Man, eſpecially the Emperor, Chap. 1.

Chap. 2. whom he acknowledges, as a Man immediately under God, that receives his Power only from God; nor hath any Man a Power above and beyond him; to Obey and Serve him is his Conſcience, his Religion, and he expects his Heaven, his eternal Salvation by it; and indeed Chriſtianity is the great, truly rational, permanent Support of Kingdoms, and Bodies Politick. What favour *Conſtantine* ſhew'd the Chriſtians, was his real particular Intereſt, and perhaps he could not have retain'd his Empire, had not the Chriſtian Biſhops been of his ſide, without their Aid and Aſſiſtance; and, as by them his Crown might be fixed the more firm and ſecure on his Head, who yet gave him not his Original Right unto it, for that was his, upon other terms than his Chriſtianity he profeſſed; nor did they add one cubit to his Power in this ſenſe, Dominion is not founded in Grace; ſo did they receive from him his outward aid and aſſiſtance, for the more due and advantageous execution of that Power they had, but not from him; they had exerciſed before he was Emperor, though perhaps with leſs ſucceſs, by a Donation antecedent to his, by a Right from Chriſt Jeſus; thus the Empire became their Nurſing-Father, to ſupport and encourage, but did not, could not give their Power, as Church-men unto them. As God gave to the Empire the Government of the World, ſo he gave to the Biſhops the Government of the Church, and which they were to uſe for the Empires advantage; but might not uſe it againſt him: And all this *Conſtantine* well knew, and was highly

highly ſenſible of, as were his Succeſſion that was Chriſtian, ſtill acknowledging Church-Power from another hand; not was it in the arm of Fleſh, by favour or frowns, as to its Power purely from above, to extinguiſh or enlarge it. I'le conclude this Section and Chapter with that of St. *Auſtin*, Ep. 165. *Quia* Conſtantinus *auſus eſt de cauſa Epiſcopi judicare, eam diſcutiendam & finiendam Epiſcopis delegavit.* And again, *Ibid. Imperatores non ſi in errore eſſent, quod abſit, pro errore ſuo contra veritatem leges darent, per quas juſti & probarentur & coronarentur, non faciendo quod illic juberent, quia Deus prohiberet.* Religion, as ſuch, falls not under the Determination of the Prince; and if he gives Laws againſt Truth, the Juſt will be both Tried and Crown'd in diſobeying him. Chap. 2.

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CHAP. III.

The Contents.

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So

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§. 1. IT returns then with more force and ſtrength, what was laid down in the beginning of the foregoing Chapter, That Church-Power is a Specifick, a Conſtitution of its own, originally from Heaven, deliver'd by Chriſt to his ſelect Apoſtles, Men choſen from all other, fill'd with the Holy Ghoſt for the Service of Mankind, in the propagating Chriſtianity, to ſpeak before Kings, every where and in all Circumſtances, to declare and publiſh it, a Power limited to their Perſons, to be retain'd within themſelves; and as no Heads but their own receiv'd it, ſo no Hands but their own could devolve and conveigh it to others, only as their own Prudence ſaw fit, was it derived, and in what meaſures and degrees they plea-

Chap. 3. ſed, as the World came into the Church, Believers were made, the Harveſt grew great, and there needed more Labourers to be ſent forth into it; a Power, I ſay, received for the uſe of others, the advantage of Mankind, in the Succeſſions of it; not for one ſingle Purpoſe and Action, as were ſeveral Commiſſions and Delegations both before and under the Law, and one at the entrance of the Goſpel, *viz.* That given to St. *John Baptiſt*, but to erect a new and ſtanding Government, and this to continue till the World is no more, and then only is the Kingdom to be delivered up to the Father, whoſe *is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory, for ever and ever*, Amen. And St. *Clemens Romanus* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and which place we had occaſion to uſe before, tells us, That the Apoſtles receiving Commands, and imbued with a full certitude by the Reſurrection of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and confirmed by the Word of God, with all fulneſs of the Holy Ghoſt, they went out declaring the coming of the Kingdom of God, and Preaching through the Regions and Cities, they conſtituted Biſhops and Deacons, in order to thoſe that ſhould believe, knowing by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that Contentions would ariſe by reaſon of the Epiſcopacy, or Power of the Miniſtry; and therefore having a perfect fore-knowledge, as they conſtituted the forementioned Biſhops; ſo they afterwards gave them Rules for Ordinations, that others, Approved Men, might ſucceed in the Places of ſuch as ſhou'd die, and execute ſuch their Offices; the Conſult and Deſign was laid for

for future Ages also. A Power and Autority framing and fashioning Believers into a Body, not an accidental casual concurrency of People only, but a Community, well and duly associated, every part proportionably fitted and put together, increasing with the increase of God, in which all things are to be done, τάξει καὶ εὐσχημόνως, decently and in order, as the Lord commanded, ὥρας γὰρ καὶ καιροὺς, as St. *Clemens* there goes on, not without Reason and Rules, κατὰ κάιρους τεταγμένους ἀναγκαίους καιροὺς καὶ ὥρας, where, at appointed, fixed seasons and hours, Oblations and Holy Services are to be offered and performed, ποῦ, ἢ καὶ διὰ τίνων, and in what Place, and by what Persons. God has appointed, that all things being religiously Performed, and according to his Will, they may be grateful and acceptable unto him, where every Man has his Order and Station, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι, and therein gives his Thanks to God, or serves him in his Publick Worship, expressed by that one principal Branch or Performance. To the chief Priest, ἀρχιερεῖ, are his Offices appropriated, to the Priest or Presbyter, ἱερεῦσιν, a special Province is assigned, and the Levites have their own Ministry incumbent upon them. The Lay-man, ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος, is confined to his Laick Affairs, a Body it is like to that of an Army, and which this Apostolical Person there recommends to their Consideration, where the Souldier is under the Captain, πῶς ἐμμέλως, πῶς εὐτάκτως, πῶς ὑποτεταγμένως, how in order? how in readiness? and in all subjection, executing Commands, and Obeying, where all are not

Chap. 3.

Chap. 3. Prætors or Rulers of Thousands, nor Rulers of Hundreds, nor Rulers of Fifties, every one in his Station and Sphere, discharges, what of the King and Tribunes is enjoyned him, where the great cannot be without the less, nor the less without the great; in which is a yielding, a mixture and condescension, and all becomes useful, ἁρμόδιον, τὸ ἑνικὸν ἔχον τὸ σύμμα, τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ κρείττονος. &c. May then this our Body be kept whole and entire in Christ Jesus; and every one be subject, according to that Order in which by the Grace of God he is placed. So that Apostolical Person goes on, and so are his Prayers, as well as Directions; as is to be seen at large in that his Epistle. A Collection, Community, or Body, gather'd out of the World; and so not of it, as with a differing Head, so by another infusion, differing Laws, diverse Offices, for quite another end, and with Powers for a present Peace, which the World cannot give unto us, *Ye are my Body*, saith our Saviour; and each one Members in particular; his Body which is the Church, *ye are not of this World*, so Christ tells his followers again, are neither the Subjects of it, nor from its Powers, receive neither Rules, nor Measures, by it.

§. II. AND surely then, as a Body in and of it self, so to Rule and Govern it self, to execute its own jurisdiction, to pass its own Laws and Sanctions, to allot its rewards and penalties, to receive and shut out, to censure or remit, to provide for a Succession; in every thing furnished for self-existency and preservation; in a word, if there be a Church

Church upon earth, a body, whoſe head is Chriſt, and each Believer, Members in particular, if any thing like a viſible Aſſociation, the Rules, and Laws, and Reaſons, of all Aſſociations in general enjoyn this; nor can that Community be ſuppoſed, ſuch as is the Chriſtian in particular, to ſubſiſt under another, live in dependency upon, or by its conceſſions, whoſe call and ſeparation was on purpoſe to be another thing from it, which had the grant for its being, to reduce and recall, in ſome Caſes to gainſay, and thwart it, which is ſo fram'd and contrived, as to be, and increaſe, under the ſevereſt of its frowns, and the moſt raging Perſecutions, from thoſe very Powers of this World, which in its lay and make, was to have the Kings of the Earth ſtand up, and the Rulers to take Council together againſt it. Our Saviour, who knew all things, who had the full deſign of his Father in his Head, and before him, knew alſo the ſeveral Accidents and Contingencies that would befall the Church, and his Wiſdom provided ſuitably; he did not leave his Church, as the Oſtrich in *Job* did her young ones, that every foot might cruſh and kill them; nor did he Build upon thoſe Sands either, that every Wind which blows, and Storm which deſcends, could deſtroy her, and which he muſt have done if founding his Church purely in Subordination to the ſecular Arm, to the Wills and Paſſions of Princes; which Experience tells us, how various, how mutable, and diſorderly they have ſometimes been; even the beſt of them, has but the breath in his Noſtrils; and yet even the worſt Chap. 3.

Chap. 3. worſt of them, the greateſt, and a ſucceſſion too, of Tyrants, has never been able to diſſolve this Community, to eraſe its Foundations. To erect a Body ſolitary and alone, without its own Laws, and a ſtrength, that is ſingular, to ſubſiſt and be Ruled by a Foreign Power, and that is extraneous to it, is in courſe to be ſwallow'd up, throughly abſorpt thereby. And 'tis again as bad or worſe, where every private Member is not obliged to ſuch its own Conſtitutions, and Juriſdictions, this is Anarchy and Confuſion, which God cannot be the Author of; the Society muſt on theſe terms equally diſſolve and periſh, be as liable to Invaſions as before. Our Saviour therefore erected his Corporation independent to the Secular Power, but dependent, and in ſubordination, as to its own Members, and to one another; and if any be unruly, and do not ſubmit, to the Laws of their Body, ſome of which are unchangeable, and as the Sun, for evermore; others occaſional, and in the Prudence and Diſcretion of the preſent Governors, Penal Laws, Abſtentions, Interminations, Exciſion it ſelf is to follow, the Church Cenſures moſt juſtly paſs upon them; nor ought they to have any benefit of that Body, can they indeed, if ſuch diſorders permitted, which they ſo rent in pieces, and which by ſuch their Rebellions, in courſe muſt decay, be rendred unſerviceable to themſelves and others.

§. III. AND that this ſpecial Power is derived and thus limited to the Church, is what, as as the common reaſon, ſo the common ſenſe of Mankind, muſt aſſent and ſubmit unto, it

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is notorious to the common Senſes; nor is there any one Demonſtration carries more Evidence along with it; 'tis as plainly and legibly ſet before our Eyes, as Chriſt Crucified, was before the Eyes of the *Galatians*, *Gal.* 3. 1. upon the common Senſe, and traditional conveyance of Mankind, as evidently ſeen from one to another, by handing it downwards, as thoſe particular Perſons who ſtood under the Croſs, did ſee and behold Chriſt diſtended and dying upon it; and yet ſo fooliſh and bewitched were thoſe very *Galatians* as to diſſent from, and make of none effect Chriſt Crucified unto them; and there are of the ſame unhappy temper ſtill amongſt us, that deny and exclude this Succeſſion of Church-Power now, and in whom to rectifie and undeceive. By anſwering ſuch Objections they produce in their own behalf, is what I am in the next place to undertake. Their grand Objection runs thus. To aſſert a Church-Power independent, and reſiding in differing Subjects, from that of the State, muſt be a reſtraint to the Civil Power, or that Power of the State, to erect an Autority againſt it; becauſe not of, and under it; that Prince cannot be ſaid to be Supreme, if a differing Power within him; To be Supreme is to be above all, there muſt be no Power apart from his, who is the Supreme, if ſo, he is not Supreme. This they urge with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, and is the Stone that the great *Hugo Grotius* ſtumbles at, in the entrance to his Treatiſe, *De jure Summarum Poteſtatum in Sacris*, and which occaſions ſo many more falls he has all along Chap. 3.

Chap. 3. along in that Diſcourſe; it being ſtuffed with inconſiſtencies to it ſelf throughout; and no wonder, when bottomed on ſo falſe a Principle, that the Power of our Saviour is an Uſurpation on the State; nor does one abſurdity go alone. A Suſpition upon Church-Government that has not the Honor to be new, 'tis as old as our Saviour in the Fleſh, and *Herod* we know ſtarted it againſt him ſo ſoon as Born in the World, and his Title as King was known unto him; for this he ſought to kill him when an Infant, and the little Children in *Bethlehem* were barbarouſly Murdered, hoping the Babe *Jeſus* might have died in the croud; diſtruſting, if he eſcaped, he would have ſupplanted him of his Kingdom. Nor did his Apoſtles after him, eſcape the Suſpition and Cenſure; and yet, our Saviour all along his life-time upon Earth, and notoriouſly at his death, ſtill clear'd himſelf of the Aſperſion, aſſerting and maintaining his Power and Kingdom delivered him of the Father, that *All Power* in Heaven and Earth; and ſo did his Apoſtles too, retain and exerciſe the ſame Power, and with the ſame Innocency. Nor do I doubt but to Vindicate his Body the Succeeding Church, ſtill claiming the like Power, and that to every rational conſidering Perſon, to each one, that with *Herod*, has not a deſign, and believes it his intereſt, to kill our Saviour, to blot out his Power, and Name and Memory on Earth.

§. IV. AND indeed to paſs by the particular Anſwers to the Objection, which will follow in courſe upon our Procedure, the Objection muſt

must fall of it self, to any one of common sense, that exercises not his Enquiries more about Tricks and Phrases, to wheedle, delude, and carry on his own particular Plot, and Party; then about that which is notorious Matter of Fact, certain Truths, and realities. *One thing I know, that whereas I was blind I now see, a Man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed mine eyes, and said unto me, Go to the Pool of Siloam, and wash; And I went and washed, and I received sight. He put clay upon mine eyes, and I washed, and do see.* This was the Answer of the Man that was born Blind and cured by our Saviour, *John* 9. 11. 15. 25. and this great notoriety to common sense baffled all the Malice and Purposes, superseded all their trifling Enquiries, designed to obscure the Power and Miracle of our Saviour's working that mighty Cure upon him; as whether it was done on the Sabbath Day! the Person was a Sinner! &c. and the same common sense and notoriety of Matter of Fact, will be our Evidence and Avoucher in this our particular Case also, and is the alone Answer we need to give in, able indeed to baffle whatever the Skill of an Objector can lay, or whatever inconsistencies the wit of Man may urge against us. Can any, even a Pharisaical race of Men, ill-natur'd and Perverse, give out and believe, That, that Body of Christians, their Bishops and Governors, should Assert and Maintain a Kingdom and Jurisdiction upon Earth, destructive to that of the Empire, or Secular, by whose breath, they in their Persons professed to subsist; for whose Persons Chap. 3.

Chap. 3. ſons and Government, and the Proſperity of both, they always Pray'd; and in the firſt place, as by whoſe Influences they were to live Godly lives, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty, whoſe Battels they fought, whom they Honoured with all the titles of Power, and Majeſty, and Magnificence, whom but to think Evil of, to Curſe in their Hearts, in their Bed-Chambers, much more openly to Defame and ſpeak Evil of, was their Sin and Irreligion, whom they acknowledged upon Earth, as under God alone, and to God alone accountable for all their Actions and Deſigns, nor could any Man ſay what doeſt thou? And all this they ſtill Remonſtrated and Publiſh'd to the World, under the deepeſt ſenſe of Religion and Zeal, with the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations, as in all their Apologies, Defences and Writings does appear; who made it a term of their Communion, to Serve, Support, and Aſſiſt the Emperor; to ſhew themſelves Faithful and Juſt, and Conſcientious towards him, equally as to ſerve their God and Saviour, as to ſay their Prayers for themſelves, and live Righteouſly and Soberly in the World; and the contrary was a juſt occaſion for their Cenſures, an Intermination upon the Offender, who too often died under their Tyranny, came peaceably to the Stake, neither accuſing nor reviling, as under the ſtroke of God himſelf, ſealing with their Blood, ſuch their Obedience. Nor in all our firſt Church-Story do we find the Catholick Chriſtian engaged in any thing like a Plot, or Council, againſt his Governor, his either Perſon or Power; much leſs an open

open Rebel against him, when either an Heathen or Heretick, and his professed Persecutor; for an Heretick has been no less Cruel than an Heathen: and when to make up the Charge by their Malice, as in the particular case of *Athanasius*, accused, as designing against the Empire by the *Arians* and *Meletians*, to be accused was his great trouble, to be under the Suspition of so foul a Crime, being otherways able to acquit himself, and so he did; and indeed so generally received a Truth was it, that a Christian could not be a Rebel, or attempt any thing upon the Empire. So much was it concluded of the Essence of his Profession, that when his Enemies thought effectually to blemish, and make him appear no Christian, they libell'd him as a Rebel; the more and the better a Christian, the more did his Prince confide in him, and 'tis very well urg'd by our Adversaries, that *Constantine* did look upon them as his great Support and Preservers; nor could the Empire in all Probability have been continued to him, without their Aid and Fidelity; and for which his Favours and Temporalities, were deservedly large unto them; but this is their Error when they tell the World, that all Church-Power was then, and is still, continued upon this score, and by the alone favour of Princes. Chap. 3.

§. V.

IF it be said that all this was the effect alone of common Prudence, and usual Wisdom, they thus provided for their interest, the Security in general of their both Religion and Persons, and which all Wise Men do in the first place take care of, they were wanting

Chap. 3. wanting both of Power and Opportunity to do otherwise; and had it not been so, the Hypocrisie had ceased, they had both appeared and acted, as their Principle of independent Power, receiv'd of the Lord Jesus, did influence and in course suggest unto them, set up against and oppose the Empire. So *Buchanan* and *Knox* give the reason, why the Apostles did not Mutiny and Rebel for the Gospel, as they did in *Scotland*; because they wanted Power, had neither Force, nor Opportunity as had they. And the same was the usual Plea, of our Presbyterian Classical Men, both in their Pulpits and Printed Pamphlets, in defence of their Rebellious Reformation against King *Charles* the First; and too many of the *Romish* Doctors urge the same for the Maintenance of the Bishop of *Romes* Omnipotency, laying claim to both Swords; the wielding and executing both Governments, and disposing of the Kingdoms of Princes, from a Donation and Right by Christ Jesus. To which my Answer is, That whatever particular designing Sects may have asserted or done, and which I cannot be supposed to be engaged to defend; nor need I attempt their Confutation, where the Plea in it self is so Notorious and Criminal, to urge and conclude these things against these Primitive Professors and Doctors of the Church, against the Apostles themselves, to suggest against and implead them of, Hypocrisie and unsincere Dealings, underhand Designs and Actings, against the most frequent Protestations to the contrary, where no one outward, overt Act has appear'd, or but collateral

lateral Evidence, or one Circumſtance, im- Chap. 3.
plying it; where the whole courſe of their Lives and Converſations viſible to outward ſenſe, was quite contrary, this is what is againſt the common Faith of Mankind; and the whole race and make is impleaded and condemned at once, as reſerved and perfidious, without Faith or Honeſty, and in particular, is it Scandalous and to the diſhonor of our common Chriſtianity, when the firſt Divulgers, and moſt eminent after-Profeſſors of it, upon whoſe Fidelity alone depends its Reception and Imbracement, by whoſe hands it came to us, and who ſealed it with their Blood, are ſo notoriouſly double-hearted and handed, are not to be believ'd in their common Actions, and ſingular Proteſtations; and the cenſure it ſelf is the more odious and abominable, becauſe in all Probability, they did not want Power, and the Objectors themſelves ſuppoſe and concede it; for they ſay the Chriſtians were the Support of *Conſtantine*'s Crown, and indeed ſo numerous and conſiderable, of ſo much repute were they, and ſo great influence had the Chriſtians in and over the World, as to turn the Scale which way they pleaſed to lean, to declare for and aſſiſt, and conſequently ground enough they had to have themſelves graſped the Scepter, had they believed it annexed to their Chriſtian Kingdom, had it been derivable from Chriſt Jeſus, or had they had but thoughts of making attempt upon it, an injured right lies not long concealed, eſpecially on ſuch bottoms, nor is a Zeal for its recovery, uſually long ſuppreſſed, the late

Chap. 3. *Bonefeaus*, and *Zelori* of the Age, upon a like miſtaken ground, give over freſh inſtances to the contrary. He that reads over the 37 Chapter of *Tertullian*'s Apology againſt the Gentiles; will there find, That the Chriſtians in his time, were no ways inconſiderable, either as to Number, Power, or Opportunity; they could in one Night burn down their City, or joyn openly with Neighbour-Enemies, which were numerous, and greater than all the World beſides; ſuch as the *Marcomanni* and *Parthians*; they fill'd both their Cities and Iſles, and Caſtles, and Corporations, and Councils, and Tents, and Tribes, and Companies, the Palace, and the Senate and Market, they only relinquiſht their Temples, they were ready for any War to inequality, they could baffle them, without Weapons or Fighting, only by Diſcords and Separations made among them, by leaving their Cities, and leaving only their Enemies there, to their amaze and aſtoniſhment, tranſplanting to other Colonies; and beſides all, lay them open to the incurſions of Devils, and which they alone kept off, exorciſed, and expelled from them. Now under all theſe advantages, whether real, or ſuppoſed, it matters not, ſo long as certainly believed, and thought ſuch, where ſo many favouring Circumſtances, could any Men ſit down under an Uſurpation? their right over Kings muſt have been aſſerted and demanded, and contended for, had they had any, or but fancied it, *Qui tam libenter trucidamur, ſi non apud iſtam Diſciplinam, magis occidi liceret, quam occidere*, to be ſure they could never

ver ſo willingly have ſuffer'd and been killed, without reſiſtance and oppoſition, only ſuch was their Diſcipline and Inſtructions, rather to be killed, than to kill. Had they ever had thoughts of aſſuming to themſelves the Empire, or but exempting themſelves, by their Charter as Chriſtians, from the Government of it. Chap. 3.

§. VI. 'TWILL be much more agreeing with the Deſigns of our preſent Adverſaries, and their Adherents, and alſo to the looſer debaucht part of the Age we live in, and which will not be the only inſtance they oblige them in, to ſay theſe Holy Primitive Men were fools, that is, as they in their great Modeſty phraſe it, Men of weaker heads, and ſo allow of their Simplicity, and Integrity; and this is the more plauſible and likelier way to render them cheap and contemptible, and their Examples of no force; and ſo indeed they are at this day repreſented and accounted of, as Men of more Zeal, but leſs Knowledge, which Character goes for Current, and has the great Maſters of our Aſſemblies, for the either Authors or Patrons of it. They thus through Ignorance and Inadvertency of the deſigns of our Saviour, uſurp'd a Power and Regiment in the Church that was never purpoſed for, nor committed to them; and then through the ſame Ignorance, and ſuperadded Zeal, farther aſſerted and defended it, not ſeeing the abſurd and ill conſequences attending it, the infinite unlimitedneſs of that Power, the vaſter force and influence of ſuch their Principles, graſping in all Government whatſoever, giving Laws and Rules to

Chap. 3. the Empire, when improved as it will bear, and more cunning Heads take it into their hands, have their particular Intereſts and Deſigns to ſerve upon, and maintain by it. But all this admitted, that the then Clergy were ſo ſtupid and ſottiſh, ſerving only preſent Zeal and Ignorance, its Mother, that there was not one wiſe Man among them, to foreſee, and conſider, and determine, and which, with leſs Perſwaſions may be done, we can endure this Scandal upon our common Faith, we contend too uſually to have it ſo; what! was it ſo with the Laity too? with the Emperors themſelves, their Court and Senate? or was it reſerved alone for Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Hobs*, and ſome few more of their Adherents, to ſee in ſuch Cauſes, theſe fatal and noxious Effects? That a Church-Government, derived from Chriſt, independent to that which is Temporal, is not only an Uſurpation in it ſelf, but upon all Civil Government alſo, that theſe two are wholly inconſiſtent, and can no ways ſtand together? If they muſt all go for Fools in theſe great Mens opinions, undiſcerning, unconſidering Perſons, we cannot help it. Sure it is they both acknowledged and abetted this very Church-Power, and ſaw not theſe killing Conſequents, were aware of no ſuch deſtroying aim upon themſelves, thought the Power of the Empire not one whit the leſs, or their Perſons to receive any abatement by it; and yet Men of reputed Fame and Renown, for all manner of Wiſdom and Proweſs in their Generations, nor would they actually forego, or but endure a leſſening

diſcourſe

diſcourſe of their Prerogative; and particularly their Care and Proviſion, in reſpect of Church-men was great and Eminent, that no Damage return to the Crown, upon any Pleas of Exemptions, or Priviledges derived from them. How ſevere they were in limiting them in their Ordinations, we have already obſerved; that, by any Exceſſive Practice of that ſpecial Power, acknowledged in the Biſhops alone, and ſtill remov'd from themſelves, the State might not be weakned, it being it ſeems too uſual for Men of great Fortunes, and ſufficient Abilities otherways, to Serve their Prince in his Wars or other Secular Imployments, to come into the Church, and receive Holy Orders, only to exempt themſelves for the advantage of thoſe Freedoms and Immunities inveſted in the Clergy, to crowd under the Church's Protection for Eaſe and Idleneſs. And therefore the Biſhops were forbad to Conſecrate any ſuch Perſons, and many other ſuch like Reſtrictions are to be ſeen in the Imperial Laws and Conſtitutions. I'le inſtance in one or two of them. As that the *Jews* when Criminal and under bad Circumſtances, turn'd Chriſtians only for Favour and an eaſier diſcharge in the Courts of Juſtice, were not to be received into the Church, nor imbodied among the Chriſtians; Nor Servants and Debtors, which fled to the Altar to avoid their Maſters and Creditors; and the Clergy that received them were firſt to be depoſed, and then to be delivered over to the Civil Power, for farther Puniſhment, *Cod. 9. Theodoſ. l. l.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. And ſurely the Chap. 3.

Chap. 3. Empire that was ſo Induſtrious and Vigilant to preſerve from Church-incroachments, ſuch the Acceſſories of their Power and Government, that the meaneſt of their Subjects be not oppreſſed, by any ſuch Plea or Charter; much greater muſt be their ſeverity upon that Body or Community, if ſuſpected in the Make and Conſtitution, to ſtrike at the Original Power it ſelf, to lay Limits and farther inconveniencies upon their own Perſons and Actions, to wreſt the Government it ſelf out of their hands; to Countermand and Superſede with their Canons, the moſt Sacred and Solemn of their Sanctions and Determinations. And though Clergy-men, as to every particular Perſon, or ſome leſſer Collection of them, may not be altogether Innocent, as to ſome attempts and incroachments upon the State, through Zeal ill guided, or incogitancy, or ſome particular deſigned intereſt, (for who Pleads that they are all exempted from all faults?) and ſuitably ſtrict Proviſion was made by the Imperial Laws, to prevent or reſtrain, or puniſh; yet no one Law, or but Proviſion, was made, that we read of, againſt the Body of Chriſtians themſelves (unleſs by the Heathen Power deſigning an Extirpation) or their Power and Government as from Chriſt, becauſe not under ſuch a Suſpition, its frame and make was ſuch, as deſigned for the Support, but no ways for the Injury of the Empire. The beſt and wiſeſt of Emperors, at the ſame time that they write to the Patriarchs and Biſhops of the Church, as its Supreme and Univerſal Governors, and own'd and remon-

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ſtrated their Power as from Chriſt Jeſus a- Chap. 3.
lone, yet reſerved among their own Titles, that of *Pontifex Maximus*, the chief Prieſt, as Mr. *Selden* according to his uſual Induſtry has Collected ſeveral Inſcriptions of theirs to this purpoſe, *lib.* 1. *De Syned. c.* 10. and by which Title, if they meant the ſame, he would have them to have done, as it matters not now to inquire, ſince the Church and Empire ſtill gave and allow'd one another theſe Compellations interchangeably, the Inference is ſtrong on our ſide, that they were not conceived to carry and imply any thwarting or oppoſition to one another; and upon what account ſoever *Julian* the Emperor was ſo obliged by, and tenacious of the Title, we have reaſon to believe he did it not on this account to affront in others, and ingroſs to himſelf Church-Power, *Antiſtes legis Chriſtinæ*, being the Title alſo in his days of the Biſhop; and ſo Biſhops are ſtill occaſionally call'd, by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, an Heathen Hiſtorian of his time, whoſe Hiſtory is moſtly made up of his Actions and Praiſes, and may not amiſs be called his Paraſite, as well as Hiſtorian; nor can he be thought to give that to Church-men, which in its execution carries ſo great an Oppoſition to the Prerogative of his admired Maſter. But that which comes nearer, is this; when the Emperors ſubmitted to the Laws of the Church, as from God himſelf, made them their Rule for their civil Sanctions, diſdained not to follow them, gave them every Eulogy, or Character that might declare them of an Heavenly ſtamp, a Divine race and infuſion,

Chap. 3. as I have already shew'd; yet did they not believe their own Laws and Sanctions the less from God by reason of it, or of a lower Institution, and suitably still expressed themselves, in the Heads of their Laws, the Forms and Preambles of their Constitutions, in these following manners, *Quem ex cœlesti Arbitrio sumpserimus*, θεσπίσμασι as *Justinian. Code. l.* 1. *Tit.* 1. 1. 3. The Laws themselves are called *Oracula*, *Sacra absolutè*. And then again, *Leges Sacræ*, *Sanctio sacra*, *Sacratissima*, *Sacratissima leges*, *Judicium Sacrum*, *Præceptio Sacra*, *Præceptum Sacrum*, *Sacra litera*, *Sanctionibus Consecrata*, *Oraculum Cœleste*, *Divales Sanctiones*, *Divina Precepta*, *Divino arbitrio Decreta*, *Divalia Beneficia*, *Divale Præceptum*, *Lex Divalis*, *Divalia Scita*, *Divalia Statuta*; all which, and more, he that will not Peruse in the several Laws, may read at once Collected to his hand by the Excellent *Jacob Gothefred*, 1. *Cod. Theodos. Tit.* 1. *Paratitlon. & Tit.* 2. *Paratitlon.* Hereby declaring the Laws both of the Church and Empire to come alike from God, and to be equally Heavenly, although by differing conveyances, upon Persons of different Orders, for particular diverse ends; but both uniting in, and serving the great End, the Universal Good, and Directions and Government of Mankind; and yet each one to act in, and keep its Sphere and Order, and so independent; and the Objection was not raised in those days, just now recited, nor was any thing like a thwarting suspected, and which is now contended for; nor indeed can their hitting and justling be otherwise supposed, than can that be

be of the Orbs, or that Diſſonancy of the Spheres talked of, the one or both muſt become Eccentrick, be Perverſe and Irregular, the whole Univerſe be untuned, in diſorder, and ſuffer by it; as our own Experience has been a great Evidence of late, and whether has loſt more by it, the King or the Prieſt, is not eaſily determined, though the Pretence was on the Princes ſide laid, by thoſe that ſet the Controverſie on foot, and with ſhews, to diſenthrall and enlarge him. Chap. 3.

§. VII. WHAT is the reaſon of ſuch our miſunderſtandings? that we cannot think and diſcern with the Ages before us? is it that this Power has been abuſed in later Ages of the Church, as by thoſe of the *Roman* and *Geneva* Diſcipline? who out of a Plea to one, took both Swords, invaded Kings and Kingdoms by it. Let but the ſame Rule take place here, as in the other Points of the Reformation, and all will ſoon be well again. Return to ſuch the beginning, thoſe firſt and purer Ages of the Church, to be ruled, and governed by, where the Platform is plain, the Model eaſie for any Capacity, and the Aberrations of ſome cannot in reaſon prejudice it. But this will not do, the ground of the Quarrel has really another bottom, and their Reaſons are another thing; as muſt be obvious to him that is converſant with the Writings either of the Principal Authors of theſe new ſtarted Opinions, or ſuch as were accidentally only their occaſion, or after Abettors of them. They cannot ſee, nor aſſent to any Government, as exiſting in the World; but what is viſible and ſenſible, has its

Chap. 3. its Operations and Effects upon outward Senſe, and its Organs, upon the Perſon or Eſtate, the Life or Bodily Action of Mankind; and this to be preſently inflicted. Men they are that will allow no Corporations or Societies but thoſe of this World, for Buying and Selling, for Trading and Trafficking, for the Belly and the Back, for outward Peace and Eaſe, to Preſerve themſelves from one another at Home, and Invaſions from Abroad, for the preſent Meſs of Pottage, good and gain on Earth; nor can any other Power but ſuch as this, or in order to it, be apprehended. We have above obſerved, That *Herod* the King, was the firſt Man that ſuggeſted this great Error, and that the Kingdom of our Saviour muſt ſupplant and aboliſh the Kingdoms of this World, his Power and *Caſar*'s could not ſtand together. And this was managed by the *Jews* all along after, who united with *Herod* to deſtroy our Saviour as an Uſurper, allowing and owning no King but *Caſar*, upon that one Deſign and Principle. And theſe Men we have now to deal with, are every ways as blind, as groſs and carnal in this particular Point, as were the *Jews* their Predeceſſors; and the Veil of *Moſes* is it ſo over their Faces, that they are ſtark Blind either beyond or beſides it. The *Jews* of old did not with more Zeal and Induſtry contend for his Temporal *Canaan* and Promiſes, Ordinances and Adminiſtrations, or with greater Blindneſs reſt himſelf in them, or with greater Malice, ſcorn and purſue ſuch as ſaid they ſaw beyond it; then do theſe

theſe Men now adays deride thoſe that ſay, Chap. 3.
there is a Spiritual Kingdom which is our Saviour's, a Power originally from Chriſt derived by Succeſſion to his Body the Church, to remain till the Reſtitution of all things, that there is, or can be, any King but *Caſar*, reſolving all Power whatever into that which is Secular, and rejecting all other, as *Oppoſite* to the *Dignity* and *Prerogative* of *Princes*.

§. VIII. IT is not much to be marvelled at the Pamphlets that went about of this Nature in 1641. 'Twas the Deſign of that time to unhinge and overthrow every thing well eſtabliſhed, and the Argument was leſs odious, that began with the Church and its Power, particularly I have by me a ſmall Treatiſe which came forth in that year, call'd *The true Grounds of Eccleſiaſtical Regiment*, &c. but the Title within is, *The Divine Right of Epiſcopacy refuted*, the more to ingage the Reader; for Epiſcopacy was firſt to be taken away, and he had the moſt advantage to do it, it being the particular quarrel; but the after-game was at all Church-Power in general, and which he endeavours to eraſe upon this ſcore, as againſt the *Soveraign Dignity of Kings*, for which he ſeems Zealous, when to Dethrone Church-men, but at laſt ſets a Thouſand more upon the Throne with him, his *Princes in Parliament*, as he calls them; nay, he ſets them above the King, and ſays, though to *Princes on their lawful Tribunals, ſomething is more due than at other times; but to Princes ſomething is more due than at other times, but to Princes in Parliament*

Chap. 3. *ment there is moſt of all due; all Power being not derived to the King without them, and whoſe Eccleſiaſtical Power he there diſcourſes.* And which I therefore here repeat, to ſhew what was deſigned for our Kings by theſe Men, when ſo much Pleading for a Power belonging to them which is the Church's; and his chief Argument all along againſt Church-Power, independent to Princes, is, that it is not like, nor does it enter into any Rivality with that ſolid, ſenſible, coercive Power wherewith God has inveſted his true Lieutenants upon Earth; and therefore is it but Imaginary and Improper. That Power which is proper, muſt include not only a Power of Commanding, but alſo an effectual Virtue of forcing Obedience to its Commands, and of ſubjecting and reducing ſuch as ſhall not render themſelves obedient; that, as among the *Jews*, the Church and State was the ſame, had the ſame Body, the ſame Head, the ſame Sword; and that Head was Temporal, and that Sword was Material; and therefore 'tis ſo with Chriſtians, nor have they any Sword or Head that is Spiritual. Chriſtians ought not to be ſo contrary to that excellent Diſcipline of the *Jews*, which God himſelf ordered, and to introduce I know not what Spiritual Rule, in prejudice of Temporal Rule; nor does he expect any Satisfaction from his Adverſaries, why there ſhould be leſs Diviſion betwixt Church and State, among the *Jews*, and leſs uſe of two ſeveral Swords; and becauſe Adultery was Puniſh'd with Death, Chriſtians ought not to be Excommunicated for it. If God has given them

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ſole Knowledge to Determine all Controverſies, and Power to Enact all Eccleſiaſtical Canons, doubtleſs he has given them ſome binding Coercive force correſpondent thereunto, and if ſo, why do they not expel all Diſſention by it? If their Virtue extend no further than to Exhortation, why do they urge Commands upon us? If they have a Commanding Power, why do they not ſecond it with due Compulſion? it is plainly clear'd to us, that Adultery by God's Law was Puniſh'd by the Temporal not Spiritual Sword; and that the *Abſciſſio anima* amongſt the *Jews*, was only Corporal Puniſhment by Death, the infliction whereof was only left to the Temporal Magiſtrate; and that there was no difference obſerved between Crimes Spiritual and Crimes Temporal. And therefore there ought to be none in the Church of Chriſt; the form or eſſence of Law, is that Coercive or Penal Virtue by which it binds all to its Obedience; if Prieſts had any ſuch Spiritual Sword, doubtleſs it would have ſome ſenſible Efficacy, and work to good Ends, and Men would not, nor could not chooſe, but bow and ſubmit themſelves under it. Thus he. Chap. 3.

§. IX. Mr. *Selden* who was Contemporary with this worthy wight and Man of Senſe, and no queſtion but his Confident, engaged and ſucceeded him in the very ſame Cauſe, and by the very ſame Motives and Arguments, only he appear'd not in the World till Nine years after, and ſo had the advantage of much time, and was imboldned by the horrid Anarchy, and diſmal Confuſion of it, and by an

Chap. 3. an inceſſant Induſtry of his own, improv'd the Argument to a greater height of irreligion and audacioufneſs, and contemptuouſly treads upon whatever is like a Church Power in any inſtance of it, which his Friend was a little ſhy of, who allows in Church-men a Power for Non-communion or Abſtention in ſome Caſes, which, though he'l by no means call it Excommunication, and acknowledges that *Juſtinian* did only command that the Biſhop proceed againſt the Faulty, by Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Deprivation; but Mr. *Selden* ſays, with the greateſt aſſurance and impudence, it was his own judicial act, with that truth we have already conſidered; but his Argument and courſe of proceeding is all along the ſame, and upon the ſuppoſition founded in the conſtitution and practice of the Jewiſh Church, and which he proves by a vaſt reading and intolerable expence of Pains to have uſed only outward, Bodily, Penal, Coercive Puniſhments, whether before, or after giving the Law in *Sinai*, ſo he tells us, it was with *Adam* and *Cain*, the one upon his fall, the other upon his murder, both baniſhed their Countries for it, the Sword is the puniſhment for Murder, *Gen.* 9. 3. And they were to be ſtoned that came near the Mount at the giving the Law, *Exod.* 19. And the puniſhment was only ſecular upon the violation of the Seven Precepts, given to the Sons of *Noah*, the uncircumciſed was to be puniſhed, though not forinſecally, yet by Gods own immediate hand; and a particular judgment of the ſame nature was the Curſe upon

upon *Meroz*, the punishment of *Core*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, nor do the words, ἀφορισμὸν, *Anathema*, &c. as used by the Prophets according to the *Septuagint*, or other Greek Translations, signifie any thing else, nor are there used for Excommunication, or afterwards by the Apostles, as in St. *Paul's* delivering up the incestuous to *Satan*, &c. and the *Jews* took up that Excommunication which was of later years exercised among them by special Compact with one another, in the time of Captivity, and for the present Exigence, when the Temporal Power was taken out of their hands, and which was no ways appropriated to the Priest, or any other Order of Men, either now under their Captivity, or for the infliction of those other Punishments before or after the Law; and what Excommunications were practised in the Apostles times, and the first Century (where by the way, his great Master *Erastus* will allow of none, in his Hundred Theses answered by *Theodore Beza* in his *Tractatus Pius & Moderatus de verâ Excommunicatione, & Christiano Magisterio*) was first Judaick, in imitation of the *Jews*; for there was none of the Christians for many years after our Saviour's Ascension, which were not either *Jews* originally, or Greek Proselytes, and were accounted as *Jews* in common repute, and members of their Synagogue, and so used their Customs and Rights as before, and of which this of Excommunication was one, and so living among the *Jews*, and call'd by the same Name, when *Cæsar* indulged the *Jews*, and they had the liberty of their own Re- Chap. 7.

Chap. 3. Religion, the Christians enjoy'd the Priviledges together with them; and thus their Excommunication became *Cæsarean*, their Church Acts derived a Publick Autority from the Empire; (having none before but by private Covenant) and by this Autority they held Presbyteries, had Judicatures, relating purely to their Religion, and retained a Power to Punish under Death, as did the *Jews*, and if not thwarting the Laws Imperial; and which grant of Favour, though abated by succeeding Emperors, they notwithstanding retained a Body, and Union among themselves, upon their own terms for Confederation, till the days of *Constantine*, and the Empire became Christian; and then the Church being taken in to the State, the Jurisdiction wholly became his, as naturally annexed to the Crown, and there to reside till all Autority and Power ceaseth. This is the chief of Mr. *Selden*'s Plot, for the overthrowing the Power of Christ's Kingdom, in the Polity, Laws and Rights of it, *Lib.* 1. *De Syned. cap.* 3. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. 11. and which has with much more advantage been very lately represented to the Age, than I am able to do, by a great and Learned Hand, Dr. *Parker*, Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*. Nor needs there any thing more to be added for the satisfying the World of the vainer Attempts, and undue Consequents there raised, only the general Design of this Discourse engages, that it be not wholly passed by, and which otherwise could not be answer'd.

THOMAS

THOMAS Eraſtus, Mr. *Selden*'s great and admired Maſter, though not licking and ſhaping his Beaſtly & Abortive brood ſo throughly, Miſſing in many things what the other has Hit upon; yet in his forementioned Hundred Theſes he urges much the ſame way; as, that becauſe the Sword was the Puniſhment among the *Jews*, ſo all Offenders of what Nature ſoever are by the Coercion alone of the Magiſtrate to be Corrected, and the Chriſtian Church is to go no farther than theirs did, and the Civil Magiſtrate has all the Care of Religion, that it is very difficult to conceive, how there can be two Heads in one Body, both to have right to Puniſh and Exerciſe Domination over the ſame Subjects, ſtill ſuppoſing no Power to have, or that can have, exiſtency, but that of outward Coercion. And which Plea, however it might be forced from him, and ſeem neceſſary, and makes a plauſible ſhew of Truth, in regard of *Beza*'s Lay-Elders and the Conſiſtorian Government of *Geneva*, and in whoſe irregular Power he inſtances, laying Penal Mulcts and outward Reſtraints, as do the Civil Magiſtrates; and the Conſideration of which ran him upon this his, as groundleſs, Extreme. Yet as to the Conſtitution and Practice of the truly Catholick Chriſtian Church, it has no Pretence or likelihood at all, as will hereafter be made to appear. Chap. 3. §. X.

CLAUDIUS Salmaſius, though he was a Man very much if not altogether of *Beza*'s Complexion; yet is he not ſo ingenuous, and true to their common Cauſe, as was *Beza* in §. XI.

Chap. 3. his Writings againſt *Eraſtus*; for in his *Apparatus* to his Book *De Primatu Papæ*, a long rambling, indigeſted, tedious Diſcourſe, purpoſely made againſt the Divine Right of Biſhops; he there to purſue home his Deſign, takes away all Church-Government whatſoever at the ſame rate of arguing. And if he concludes any thing at all, and which is not eaſily ſeen, it is this, That a Biſhop is ſo far from having a diſtinct Power above a Presbyter, ſolitary and apart from him; that he has neither ἀρχὴν nor αὐθεντίαν in general, no Government nor Juriſdiction at all. And the reaſon he backs it with is this, Chriſt did not inveſt his Apoſtles with the Power of worldly and civil Magiſtrates, when he ſent them out to Preach. If ſo, he ſhould have adjoyned to them ſo many Lictors and Apparitors, furniſhed them with Whips and Axes; and not having done it, there is no Magiſtracy at all, nothing of Power reſiding, becauſe able to engage none by Violence; neither Corporal nor Pecuniary Mulcts can be inflicted by them. And ſo in his Diſſertation *De Epiſcopis & Presbyteris contra Petavium*, under the Name of *Walo Meſſalinus*, he concludes Epiſcopacy to be *Curatio* only, and which he diſtinguiſhes *à Magiſtratu, Poteſtate & Imperio*, from all ſorts of Government. And ſays expreſly, That any Juriſdiction of one Clergy-man above another came from *Conſtantine*, *Cap.* 6. and ſo Zealous is he to make Epiſcopacy but an Humane Diſpoſition, that he delivers it as his Opinion, and takes a great deal of pains to prove it, That the Presbyters themſelves, are no other than *Laymen*

men, have nothing of a Diſtinction, or of a Power different from the Laity, as the Prieſthood of old had amongſt the *Jews*. That as Lay-men did Baptize, as well as any, and which is acknowledged, ſo that Biſhops and Presbyters do Adminiſter the Sacraments of Chriſt, 'tis only as dedicated to it, by the choice of the People, and in whoſe abſence Laicks may Conſecrate all Believers, and not only the Apoſtles, receiving the Commiſſion and Power at Chriſt's Inſtitution; and ſuitably was it done in every Family, and after Supper, for ſome Ages; and the difference betwixt the Order Eccleſiaſtical, and the People in common, has nothing of Divine Inſtitution. That Ordination by Impoſition of hands, gives nothing at all of new Power; only ranks them in ſuch a Body and Order, as Firſt, Second and Third. And the Door-Keepers have as much a place and order in the Church, as either Deacon, Presbyter or Biſhop; the Biſhop and Presbyter were only the more Honorable and Honeſt part of the People. And this he brings in his Lay-Elders to have an equal Right and Government in Church Matters with them, by a Primitive Devolution, and which Officers once were in every Church, but now remains only in the *African*, though with the addition of the Order of Presbyters, for which there is no footſtep in the Primitive Apoſtolical Church. And at laſt is angry with *Petavius*, that he perſtringes the *Waldenſes* and *Luther*, becauſe they retained no Prieſthood at all; under the Goſpel; but believe that juſt and faithful Laicks may do

Chap. 7.

Chap. 3. all that is needful in the Church of God, and discharge every Ecclesiastical Office, receiving a Power by the Imposition of the hands of the Presbytery; that is, the Senate not Ecclesiastical but Laick; in which whether *Petavius* injures the *Waldenses* and *Luther* or not, is not the matter now to be enquired after; sure it is, *Salmasius* adopts these their imputed Opinions, and they are his. And he thinks it the Mind of St. *Peter* too, whom he cites, *Cap.* 2. calling the Laicks that are faithful, *an Holy Priesthood*, to offer Spiritual Sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ Jesus, *a Royal Priesthood*, *Ibid.* and all which *Petavius* the Jesuite makes no small advantage of, to the Infamy of the Reformation. Neither have I done *Claudius Salmasius* any injury in ranking him among those that deny all Church-Power as from Christ Jesus; for he is worse than those I have mentioned before him, he takes the civil assignation from the hands of the Prince, and puts it into the People. So that every Man may as well Ordain himself; as in the days of *Jeroboam*. And hence we cannot but take notice with what furious, inconsiderate, malicious purposes some Men have pursued Episcopacy, and rather than have it stand, they'l fall themselves, deny what is otherwise their *Diana* and great Delight, the Divine Right of Presbytery, take away all Church-Power for ever with it; And indeed the Principles that these Men go upon are such, when to throw down Episcopacy, that they strike at our whole Christianity with the same blow, as does his Friend *David Blondel*

Blondel in particular; and there cannot, under their Guiding and Conduct, be any ſuch thing as either Truth or Hereſie; the one to be convincingly Vindicated, or the other ſolidly confuted; as might be eaſily made appear. Chap. 3.

§. XII. BUT what is moſtly to be admired, the great *Hugo Grotius* goes along with them in part, and can apprehend only a Power that is outward and compulſive, and working by ſenſible force. And whatſoever Power is erected in the Church independent to the Secular, is an abating its Arm, an Uſurpation, a ſharing with the Prince in his Government, *De Imper. Sum. Poteſt. in Sacris. Sect.* 3. *cap.* 1. *cap.* 5. *& Sect.* 9. That there is no Empire by Divine Right granted to the Church. The Miniſtry of the Empire is the Sword, but the Weapons of the Church are not Carnal, *Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 9. And again argues, That there is no Juriſdiction belonging to the Church, becauſe none that is Coactive or Commanding, *Cap.* 9. *Sect.* 3. with more to this purpoſe all along there. As alſo in his *Ordinum Holland. Pietas*, &c. *Orat. Habit. in Senat. Amſtelodam*, *bona fides Sibrandi Lubberti*, &c. and yet that this was not his conſtant, laſting, through digeſted opinion, 'tis again as certain, he going quite t'other way, and fully thwarting, even in that very Diſcourſe of his *of the Power of the Supreme Magiſtrate in Holy Things*, and much oftner in his other Writings. He will not allow the Paſtors to be Vicars of thoſe very Powers, any otherwiſe then as Subjects; and that, beſides their Paſtoral charge, they

Chap. 3. receive *aliquid Imperii & Juriſdictionis*, ſomething of Empire and Juriſdiction, *Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 3. *cap.* 4. *Sect.* 1. that Kings are the Object of this Power, not only as the Goſpel is tendred unto them in the way of Preaching, but by the application of the uſe of the Keys, *Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 3. *& Cap.* 9. *Sect.* 18. That the Church is *Cœtus*, a Body and Aſſociation, not only permitted, but inſtituted by Divine Right; and whatever naturally belongs to any other Body, this belongs alſo to the Church, *Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 9. That the Church deſtitute of the Protection of the outward Government, doth not ceaſe to be a Church, *Cap.* 8. 2. He aſſerts a Church-Power to exclude from their Congregations, for either Hereſie, or Immorality, and that diſtinct from the Magiſtrate, who conſtrains for fear of Puniſhment, *Annot.* in *Mat.* 13. 41. which Annotations he propoſes for the Pattern of all his other, and if from any Writings of his, we may hence conclude his maturated Judgment. And again, in his Annotations on St. *Luke* 6. 22. he inſtances in two Branches of this Power, Baptiſm and Excommunication. And in St. *Joh.* 20. 23. and when the Apoſtle only adviſes to ſhun Evil Men, he concludes the *Presbyterium* or *Aſſociation*, was not then ſetled at *Rome*, otherwiſe he had order'd, that they had then been Excommunicated. In *Rom.* 6. 17. and in 1 *Cor.* 5. 11. by the Keys of *David*, he underſtands, not only he that hath the Power of Death and Hell, but he that hath *Plenisſimum Imperium*, the entire Power in the Houſe of God, as *Eliachim* had in the Houſe of *David*. *Ad Apoc.* 3. 7. and,

then

then which, what more can be deſired by us, and how conſiſtent with himſelf any one may ſee. I'le only add the words of our Profound Mr. *Thorndike* in his Treatiſe of the *Laws of the Church*, p. 395. *He that in his Preface to his Annotations on the Goſpel ſhall read him diſclaiming whatever the Conſent of the Church ſhall be found to refuſe, will never believe that he had admitted no Corporation of the Church, without which, no Conſent thereof, could have been obſerved.* And 'tis, I ſay, from theſe his Annotations on the Goſpels, we are to find and know what are his Sentiments; if any where, he deſires us to have recourſe hither, if we will read his other things with Profit, in his Preface to the Reader. Now, that thoſe above cited Treatiſes in which his Errors as to Church-Government are ſo viſible, were all wrote when he was young, 'tis certain; and that he was too much pre-occupated and prejudiced by his Education and particular Converſe and Buſineſs at *Amſterdam*, in ſuch his Youth, follows in courſe, and himſelf was afterwards ſenſible of, and lamented it throughout his whole Life. And thinks it leſs Candid and Ingenious in *Andrew Rivette*, that he objects thoſe things againſt him, that he had wrote ſome times ſince, *Cum illi multarum rerum conſpectum adimeret nimius Patriæ amor; cùm eſſet Parvulus, loquebatur ut Parvulus*; when the over-much love to his Country, did take from him the ſight of many things. When he was a Child, he wrote as a Child, *Rivet. Apol. Diſcuſſ. Pag.* 732. And it muſt be alſo very harſh and ſevere in us, ſhould we object againſt him Chap. 3.

Chap. 3. that his particular Treatise *of the Power of the Supreme Magistrate in Holy Things*, which that it is a Posthumous work 'tis most apparent. And farther, That he disown'd it when it was wrote, and never design'd it for the Press, 'tis more then probable; especially if we give Credit to what account our *Herbert Thorndike* gives of it, in his *Laws of the Church*, the last Chapter, That at his being in *England*, he left it with two great Prelates of our Church, *Lancelot* Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, and *John* Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, to peruse; and both of them advising him not to Print it, he rested in their Judgments, and 'twas laid aside till his Death. And indeed, that that Treatise was not the issue of a fixed Judgment, but to serve a Party, appears from the unevenness of the Discourse, contradicting it self frequently, and contending against the very design of it; the great Argument of a raw imperfect confused Notion. And particularly, if we consider, he was every ways an adherent to the *Holland* Remonstrants, a sort of Men, that in Prejudice to the Church, so extremely flatter'd the Civil Magistrate; as our Author makes it appear, *Ibid. suprà*; though he never drank so deep of the Cup, as to take off the Dregs, as he himself farther pleads to *Rivet*, concerning some Presbyterian Tenents, imbibed in his Youth, *Ibid. suprà*, and acknowledges much to the Mercies of God, that when compassed round with their so great Power, he could never be brought to Approve that which is proper to Calvinists, *Ibid.* And how easily these things slide into Mankind, how incredibly

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credibly they work, and how difficultly caſt off, Experience too much Evidences; The Natural Love to a man's Country, the Prejudice of his Education, the higher Imployments in it, its Applauſe and Acclamations: All which *Grotius* had in a great meaſure. The latter alone is able to ſpoil a Judgment; it muſt do it, where entertained and purſued: and though he that reads over *Grotius*, and ſays he is not the better for him, ſuch is his excellent and incomparable Notion, muſt be either a great Fool, or very ill natur'd; yet 'tis to be doubted ſome of theſe never quitted him quite, his Theological Works, lately Printed together, give too great a Preſumption; all *Amſterdam*, ſomewhere or other being to be found in them, and every one may pick out, or very near it, his own Religion. So fatal is it, for Men of great Parts to ſet out, without ſome firſt Principles, as he did, and frame their Scheme of Divinity to the preſent Notion and Conception, no regard had to ſomething receiv'd, and certain. So in courſe does it follow, what in him is to be found, and nothing could have done him ſo much right, as, in the ſetting out of his Works, to have given account to the World, of the particular time, when they were each of them Compoſed, and firſt made Publick. All that I ſhall add more concerning *Grotius*, is this, In the purſuance of his aſſumed Notion of *Supreme*, laid down by him in the Entrance to his Treatiſe *De Imperio ſummarum Poteſtatum in Sacris*, and which is the chief occaſion of his following Miſtakes. As, *To be Supreme* Chap. 3.

Chap. 3. *preme* is to be above all, indefinitely in the full Latitude of things, and where fixed and attributed to any one Perſon or Subject, the very Deſign and Nature of the Expreſſion, will allow none to be excluded, or exempted from a Submiſſion and Subjection; no other Power can be ſuppoſed, and not in Subordinacy and Dependency upon, to be and ſubſiſt, without and beſides it. He is ſo unhappy, as to fall into and purſue the ſame Miſtake, the Jeſuit had done in Doctor *Bilſon*'s Book of *Chriſtian Subjection, and Obedience*, in the Second Part, who there thus argues againſt the Oath of Supremacy. "If "Princes be Supreme Governors over all "Perſons in all Cauſes; then in vain did "the Holy Ghoſt appoint Paſtors and Bi-"ſhops to govern the Church, then are "they Superior to Chriſt himſelf, in ef-"fect being Chriſt's Maſters; then may "they preſcribe which way to Worſhip "God. And goes on a little farther, and declares his diſlike to *Supreme* in the Oath, becauſe, that word maketh Princes Superior to God himſelf, for *Supreme* is Superior to all; neither Chriſt's own Perſon, nor his Church excepted. Now, I ſay, this one and the ſame Notion of *Grotius* and the Jeſuit, if adhered unto, and both will continue to allow it; they are upon equal Grounds, and with the ſame advantage fight againſt one another, and the Combat may be Eternal, only of Skirmiſhes and ſome Blows; but no Victory on either ſide. When *Grotius* goes along with our

our Church of *England*, and makes his Ma- Chap. 3.
giſtrate Supreme in all Cauſes, and over all Perſons, the Jeſuite tells him, That to be Supreme is above all, to be Superior to all, and he ſets up his Prince above God and Chriſt, and the Church; when the Jeſuit aſſerts the Supreme Power of the Church of God, *Grotius* upon the ſame Ground replies the ſelf-ſame thing upon him. That he exalts the Church-Power above God and Chriſt, and the Magiſtrate, as all their Maſters. And indeed, according to theſe Mens Notions, to apply the Superlative to any Perſon or Thing, is the height of Blaſphemy. For why? God is not excepted. And the moſt common Phraſes, of a moſt Mighty Prince, a moſt Holy Place, a moſt Wiſe Counſellor, are all inſtances of it; nor can any one Attribute of Gods, be otherwiſe applyed to the Creature. Whereas, if the Word be underſtood and uſed, as in common uſe it is to be, and in complyance with things it muſt be, ſuitable to the preſent Subject it is aſſign'd and limited to, and the particular things it is converſant with, as under ſuch and ſuch Heads and Orders, all is eaſie and plain. Thus God is the alone *Supreme*, all Rule, Governance and Autority being originally in him and eminently. Chriſt is *Supreme*, as Head of the Church, to whom all Power is given of the Father, for bringing Mankind to Heaven; the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, the Paſtors of the Church, were and are now *Supreme* on Earth, in the ſame Power derived from Chriſt, by

Chap. 3. by the Apoſtles unto them. The Prince is *Supreme*, and hath all Power from God committed unto him; as to Government relating to this World; over all Things, Perſons and Cauſes, to appropriate or alienate, to Endow, Limit, Reſtrain, Coerce or Compel, as the alone Supreme Lawgiver upon Earth, and none may oppoſe; and the great and gyant Objection, that is only wrangling about and miſtaking of words, falls to the ground, as it is in it ſelf nothing.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Contents.

The Objections anſwer'd. Selden's *Error, that there are to be, no other Puniſhments by Chriſt, than was before and under the Law; the Query is to be what Chriſt did actually conſtitute; He mixes the Temporal Actions of the Apoſtles, and thoſe deſign'd for Perpetuity.* Adam *and* Cain *might have more than a Temporal Puniſhment*, Sect. 1.

The great Diſparity betwixt the Jewiſh and Chriſtian State conſidered, no Inferences to be drawn from the one to the other, but what is on our ſide, Sect. 2.

Theirs is the Letter, ours the Spirit; They Puniſh'd by Bodily Death, we by Spiritual, Sect. 3.

If Government was judged ſo abſolutely neceſſary by the diſperſed Jews, *that they then framed one of their own for the preſent Neceſſity, and whoſe Wiſdom in ſo doing, Mr.* Selden *ſo much admires; it muſt blemiſh our Saviour much to ſay, he purpoſely call'd together a Church and deſign'd it none of its own, to preſerve it*, Sect. 4.

The Jews *Excommunication, was not bodily Coercive, and then there may be ſuch a Puniſhment, an Obligation to Obedience, without force, and that is not outward; and this much more in the Chriſtian Society*, Sect. 5.

And

Chap. 4. *And this their Government abſtracted from the Civil Magiſtrate, is an Eſſay of Chriſt's Government; ſo far of the ſame Nature, to come into the World*, Sect. 6.

The Chriſtian Church might be both from Cæſar *and Chriſt, as was the Jewiſh, from God and* Cæſar, *and there is no thwarting. The Jews and Chriſtians diſtinct*, Sect. 7.

In anſwer to his main Objection, That all Government muſt be of this World, Sect. 8. *It is replied,*

To aſſert Chriſt to have ſuch a Kingdom, is to thwart his deſign of coming into the World, the whole courſe of his Actions and Government; and thoſe Ancients that expected him to come and Rule with them on Earth; yet did not believe it to be accompliſhed, till after the Reſurrection, Sect. 9.

To ſay he therefore has no Power at all, is as wide of Truth, the way of Men in Error, to run from one extreme to another, and of Mr. Selden *here*, Sect. 10.

The Church is a Body of a differing Nature from others, Sect. 11.

With differing Organs and Members of its own, in Subordination to one another, Sect. 12.

With different Offices and Duties, Gifts and Endowments; theſe either Common to all Believers, or limited to particular Perſons, Sect. 13.

As Chriſtians in common, they had one Faith, into which Baptized, and of which Confeſſion was made; the Apoſtles Creed, and other Summaries of Faith and ſound Doctrine. Interrogatories in Baptiſm. How Infants perform it, Sect. 14.

They

They had one and the ſame Laws and Rules for Obedience for which they Covenanted, which is their Baptiſmal Vow, the Abrenunciation of the World, the Fleſh and the Devil, Sect. 15. Chap. 4.

One Common Worſhip and Service, and Religious Performance to God, in their Aſſemblies, the particular Offices and Duties there, the Prieſt and People officiate interchangeably; as in Tertullian, Juſtin Martyr, *&c.* Sect. 16.

Common Duties and Services as to God, ſo to one another; in ſupplying one anothers Neceſſities as occaſion, Sect. 17.

In the ſupply of ſuch as attended at the Altar, by a Common Purſe depoſited in the hands of the Biſhop, Sect. 18.

Of the Poor and Indigent, whoſe Treaſurer was the Biſhop, Sect. 19.

The Power, Offices, and Duties not promiſcuous, but limited to particular Perſons, are thoſe of the Miniſtry, diſtributed into the three ſtanding Orders of Biſhop, Presbyter, and Deacon, and which make up that καλλιγενῆ τῆ ἱερωσύνῃ, *that Goſpel Prieſthood to remain to the Reſtitution,* Sect. 20.

This Power and Juriſdiction, though limited to and reſiding in theſe three, yet it is not in each of them alike, in the ſame degree, force, and virtue; the Deacon is loweſt, the Presbyter next; the Biſhop, the full Orders and Uppermoſt, Supreme and including all, Sect. 21.

Againſt this Primacy of Biſhops, that of Metropolitans, Exarchy, Patriarchy, and the Supremacy of Rome *is objected,* Sect. 22.

The Metropolitan, &c. is in ſome Caſes above the Biſhop, but not in the Power of the Prieſthood; 'tis the ſame Power enlarged. No new Ordination in Order to it, Sect. 23. *The*

Chap. 4. *The Universal Primacy of the Bishop of* Rome *is but Pretended, not bottom'd on either the Scriptures, or Fathers, or Councils*, Sect. 24. 25, 26.

The Bishops Superiority, or full Orders and Power in the Church is reassumed, and farther asserted. He with his Presbyter or Deacon, or some one of them are to be in every Congregation; for the Presbyter or Deacon or both to assemble the People and Officiate, and not under him, is Schism. The several instances of this Power of the Priesthood, Sect. 27.

To Preside in the Assemblies, Pray, give Thanks for, Teach and Govern there. No Extempore *Prayers in those Assemblies*, Sect. 28.

To Administer the Sacraments, the Consecration of the Lords Supper, by Prayer and Thanksgiving and Attrectation of the Elements. Baptism by Lay-Persons. Rebaptizations on what terms in the Ancient Church Confirmation, Sect. 29.

To Unite and Determine in Council. The use of Councils and Obligation. Their Autority Declarative, Autoritative, Sect. 30.

To impose Discipline, the several instances and degrees of it, in the Ancient Church. Indulgencies and Abatements, Sect. 31.

To Excommunicate or cast out of the Church, a Power without which the Church as a Body cannot subsist; a natural Consequent to Baptism, Priests not excommunicated, but deposed, Sect. 32.

To Absolve, and Re-admit into the Church, this the design of Excommunication, which is only a shutting out for a time, in order to Mercy, on whom to be inflicted. Its certain force in the Execution, Sect. 33.

To

To depute others in the Miniſtry by Ordination; the Neceſſity of it. An inſtance in St. John *out of* Euſebius, *St.* Clemens Romanus, Calvin *and* Beza's *Opinion and Practice. Its ill Conſequences. Only, thoſe of the Prieſthood can give this Power to others,* Sect. 34. Chap. 4.

The Objection anſwered, and 'tis plain the Church is an Incorporation, with Laws, Rewards and Penalties of its own, not of this World, nor oppoſing its Government, Sect. 35.

The outward ſtroke is reſerved to the Day of Judgment, but the Obligation is preſent. If the Church has no Power nor Obligation, becauſe not that preſent Power to Puniſh, or any like it; neither has any Law in the Goſpel. Mr. Hobbs *the more honeſt Man, ſays neither the Eccleſiaſtical, or Evangelical Law obliges. His and their Principles infer it,* Sect. 36.

The Power of Chriſt and his Church cannot claſh with the Civil Power, becauſe no outward Proceſs till the Day of Judgment, and then civil outward Dominion is to ceaſe in its courſe; the preſent Union and Power to be ſure cannot: this is clear from the ſeveral inſtances of it, already reckon'd up, Sect. 37.

Their Faith is an inward act of the Soul, acquitted by Mr. Hobbes; *and that which is more open, Confeſſion, obliges, if oppoſed, but to dye, and be Martyrs,* Sect. 38.

That they Covenant againſt Sin, makes them but the better Subjects; Sect. 39.

No Man that ſays his Prayers duly can be a Rebel; becauſe firſt of all to own his Prince and Pray for him. The firſt Chriſtians Innocency defended them, when impleaded for Aſſembling without leave. If this did not do, they ſuffer'd;

Chap. 4. *Their Christianity did not exempt them from inspection,* Sect. 40.

Charity, not obstructive to Government, when on due Objects; a common Purse without leave, dangerous, not generally to be allow'd. These Christians innocency indemnified them. The Divine Right of Titles how asserted. Nothing can justifie those Practices, but their real Case. The Profession of Christianity must otherwise cease, Sect. 41, 42.

Presiding in the Church, rises no higher than the Duties exercised. 'Tis Dr. Tillotson *alone ever said,*---To Preach Christ, is to Affront Princes; *If the Jesuit do, let him look to it. Christianity is not in fault. An entring into, or renewing the Covenant, at the Font or Altar, is no Encroachment on the but Justice of Peace in the Neighborhood,* Sect. 43.

Excommunication and other Censures change no Mans Condition as to this World; they have no force, but in relation to known Duties. Providence is to rule in the Execution, particular regard to be had to Princes. Whatever is Coercive annexed, is from the Prince. Lay-Judges, Chancellors, &c. *when first granted by the Empire upon the Bishops Petition. The same is Absolution, neither, innovate in Civil Affairs,* Sect. 44.

Conciliary Acts, invade no more than does the Gospel it self. That Canons have had the precedency of the Law, is by the favour of Princes; a Council without local meeting. Letters Missive, Sect. 45.

Ordaining others, no more prejudicial to the Crown than the former acts. This is Mr. Hobbe's *Misapprehension,* Sect. 46.

HAVING

HAVING produced the chief and first Arguments and Autorities that are depended upon, and urged in this Controversie; an Answer to some of which, I have already prevented; others fall in pieces of themselves to an easie Capacity; the rest I shall indeavour to refute, in these following Conclusions, and which will tend much to the cleering the whole Subject; and I'le begin with the first and great Error of Mr. *Selden*, and his other Friends, and which is laid down and insisted on as the Foundation of the whole ensuing Fabrick. We are told that all Punishments both before, and after, the giving the Law in *Sinai*, from *Adam* to Christ, were bodily and outwardly Coercive, and inflictive, the distinction of Sins Spiritual and Temporal was not then known, nor was there any such different Regiments and Governors, in regard to them; the Sword punish'd Adulteries as well as Burglary. And therefore 'tis so still under the Gospel, by the Institution of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; nor was there a Jurisdiction separate and apart, relating alone to Spiritual Church Affairs, designed, or erected, by him. An Inference (granting the truth of the Premises) surely as wide as their keenest Adversaries can wish it to be, and the Consequence had been every ways as due and firm, in respect to the Law given by *Moses*, that there were never any such Levitical Rites, and Ceremonies given from God by him, such a Polity erected, because nothing like it, that §. 1.

Chap. 4. we know of, was given to *Adam*, in Paradice; nor is there one Rule, Law or Direction since given to his Succession, the Patriarchs in particular, but upon the same force and account, must still be exemplary, nor ought there, can there be, any institution that is diverse from them received; if a distinct Power, from all the World before him, be admitted and allowed in *Moses* the Servant, much more in Christ a Son over his own House, by whom God hath spoken to us in these last days, as in times past he did *to the Fathers, by the Prophets, whom he appointed Heir of all things; by whom also he hath made the worlds; who is the bright Image of his Person, upholding all things by the word of his Power*, Heb. 1. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. who had greater Autority, more full and larger Instructions and Commission, and more signally evidenced to the outward sense of Mankind, than any Prophets or Messengers of Gods had before, who had all Power in Heaven and Earth committed unto him, both spake and acted as never Man did. And in the same peculiar manner did he gather and stablish and fix his Church, or Body upon Earth; and at his going away into Heaven, send down his own Gifts in the face of all Nations at the Feast of *Pentecost*; erected his own Kingdom, appointed his own Officers, assign'd his own Members, influenced them by his own Spirit, governed them by his own Laws, associated them in his own Method, and nothing of it was of this World. He made a new Covenant, stablish'd on better Grounds, incouraged with better Hopes and Promises, instituted

tuted new Ordinances, made new Seals and Conveyances, gave new Liveries, and Pledges that were diverſe, a Government to laſt for ever, till the reſtitution of all things, with a reſpect to nothing future, but Heaven, and all this abſolute in it ſelf, and independent, abſtract and ſeparate from any, or all the Powers and Aſſociations in the world beſide; complying and yielding to no one Circumſtance, Exigence, or Neceſſity whatever; ſo contrived and ordained, that as himſelf, her Head, ſo the Church his Body, and every Member in particular hath life in it ſelf, derived only from him; their own Powers and Capacities, and Inſtitutions, and the gates of Hell are not to prevail againſt them; and then ſurely ſpecial Commands, and different Offences, may be allowed, there muſt be new Animadverſions and Corrections, Diſcipline and Puniſhments; and theſe in ſuch hands as is his Pleaſure. However, to infer, there is now no ſuch things, or in ſuch a manner, and ſuch hands, becauſe never in the World before, is hugely inconcluding; nor do any Men that are in earneſt, or out of a Plot, believe, or declare themſelves any otherwiſe obliged by ſuch the forementioned Inſtances and Preſidents, whether in Law or Government, any farther than the Parity of Reaſon, and Correſpondency of things enforce and engage; and there would be mad work were it otherwiſe. Only Mr. *Selden* and his Friends, are, it ſeems, to be excepted, who thus argue, *Adam* and *Cain*, for their Offences againſt God, had a civil Baniſhment. *Achan*'s Body and all his Goods were a devoted thing for Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. his Sacriledge. Others were Slain or Stoned, or ſwallowed up by the Earth for their greater Impieties, Excommunication was not at all amongſt the *Jews* for ſome time, and ſince, it was received only as a Compact among themſelves to keep their People in awe and order, when they were in Captivity, and without the benefit of the Civil Magiſtrate, and their Penal Laws to correct and reſtrain them. And therefore there are not, neither ought to be, any other Puniſhments under the Goſpel; All the Anathema's, Devotings, Cuttings off, Separation, Abſtentions, Interminations, Excommunications, are nothing elſe. The Primitive Chriſtians, without any Pre-obligation from Chriſt, upon the ſame ſcore entred into their Diſcipline, and govern'd themſelves alſo as they could, while the Empire was Heathen; becauſe not capable any otherways to ſubſiſt, keep their Body together and Protect it, and which ceaſed when *Conſtantine* became Chriſtian, who took it all into his own hands, managed it as occaſion, and as he pleaſed; in whom, by right, alone it reſided. And the Argument is every whit as good, as to Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, which were imitations of the *Jewiſh* Cuſtoms; and that there is no more in either, than was in their Baptizing and Waſhing when they made Proſelytes, or in their Cup of Bleſſing, Drinking a Health, Eating and Banquetting together, and which muſt be in the Power of the Supreme Magiſtrate, to cancel or continue at his Pleaſure. And much wider yet is a further Concluſion of his in his Twelfth Chapter,

Chapter, That there was no Excommunication at all amongst the *Jews*; nor is therefore to be any among Christians, because no mention of it, in an old *Jewish* Manuscript Ritual, which he has by him, and there produces; and the courses of Penance and Repentance, are all Innovations, because his Priest of *Mahomet* neither knew nor discovered any thing of it; and which must be the alone Inferences from all his great Pains and Reading there shew'd to the World, if there can be any at all. And indeed, had he not intended more to amuse the World with a bulk of Stuff and Reading, as is his usual way, and by a confusion of things first to confound his Reader, the easier to impose upon him, the usual way of all Hereticks, as *Tertullian* has observ'd *Adversus Praxean Cap.*20. *Proprium est omnium Hæreticorum, pauca adversus plura defendunt, & posteriora adversus priora. Scribis tanquam ad Crœsum & Pyrrhum Loxias*; as *Marius Mercator* of the *Pelagian*; First, to involve and entangle; he would have omitted all these Impertinencies, and gone directly to the Business, As whether such a Kingdom was once erected? Such Power was left upon Earth or not? and this indeed he attempts, but 'tis in the After-Game, the Bustle, and Distraction. And he does it only too in compliance with his own false Supposition. He considers nothing of the Kingdom of Christ, the Nature of his Commission, it's Power, Reasons, Design, End and Reward, he wrests particular passages of Scripture, to his perverted purpose, and I'le bring as many Readings and Expositions with their tricks Chap. 4.

Chap. 4 and turnings, quite againſt him. And particularly intermixes and confounds the miraculous, eſpecial Actions of the Apoſtles, when inflicting Death and Temporal Puniſhments, for the Teſtimony of their Commiſſions, and terror to the preſent Offendor, and warning to future Ages, and which were to ceaſe, with that ſetled fixed Power of theirs, deſign'd for a Perpetuity. And his Miſtake is as great in his numerous Inſtances of the Imperial Acts and their Conſtitutions; of their Titles of *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum*, *Summus Pontifex*, and the Application of them, all which are οὐδὲν πρὸς, and which is already ſhew'd. The Power of the Church, purely as ſuch, and which is alone the Subject of the Debate, is entire and within it ſelf, ſupported and maintained; but never invaded, by the Titles and Acts Imperial. Nor need all be let paſs, as for granted, that he thinks himſelf ſo ſecure of, as an unſhaken Medium, for his undue gathered Concluſion. And certainly there was more than a Bodily Temporal Puniſhment in *Adam* and *Cain*, a ſingle Puniſhment was not all they had inflicted on, or was intended to them, there was a withholding ſomething Spiritual too; a Suſpenſion, at leaſt, of inward Strength and Aſſiſtances, a turning out from ſome other outward Advantages and Enjoyments, and which is imported, by the turning out from the Preſence of God, and the change of the Earth, was not the alone Deprivation. And ſure I am, we have as good Grounds that it was more, as Mr. *Selden* has produced to the contrary, (though his Enumerations are great,

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and his little Autorities are many; as indeed he does nothing but what is abundance in that Senſe,) did the clearing the preſent Truth any ways depend upon it. Chap. 4.

2. That then which will be more conſiderable is this, and which renders an evident account, why all the Offences, under the Levitical Diſpenſation, were puniſhable only by the Civil Power, and with Temporal Awards, and by one and the ſame hand of Juſtice, the diſtinction between Sins Spiritual and Temporal, were leſs obvious, or none; and the Power of the Prieſthood was not ſo diſtinct and apart, and yet no neceſſity of the like Conſtitution, in any one inſtance now under Chriſtianity; the principal reaſon of all, I ſay, ſeems to be this. The great diſparity betwixt the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Body, as to their particular Form and Conſtitution; the Jewiſh Church was imbodied in the State in the deſign and frame of it; and the Laws of both were one and the ſelf-ſame Law of the Nation, the Government was blended, and ſo mixed together, that is, was all one Polity, diſperſed by the hands of the Prieſts and Levites and Judges of the Gates, each had their original ſhare; and the ſo much magnified *Sanedrim*, is allowed to be of the ſame Complexion, or mixed multitude together, and united for preſent Government. And hence is it, as Mr. *Selden* ſays very well, That when a Conquer'd People and in Captivity, under the Civil Government of a Foreign Power, and which conſider'd not their Religion, it had no Power to Pro- §. II.

Chap. 4. Protect it ſelf; and therefore by Compact among themſelves, they ſubmitted to Excommunication. A Politick accidental Contrivance of their own, to keep themſelves together. The Offices of the Prieſts and Levites, though appropriate and diſtinct as to ſome Acts and Powers, yet not as to Government; they, as ſuch, were placed only in the Services of the Tabernacle, the Temple and Altar. And *Grotius* well deſcribes them, *Judices erant de arduis Legis, ut viri cæteris Eruditiores*, in *Deut.* 17. 9. They executed the Offices of Judges, as Men more Skilled and Learned than others; it flowed not purely from their Prieſtly Delegation. That Power came another way, perhaps as Elected into the *Sanedrim*, if there was ſuch a continued Society for Government, which from the Old Teſtament appears not, however in uſe in the days of our Saviour. And which makes me admire ſome Men among us, who contend ſo much for the letter of the Scriptures, and run down whatever is Tradition beſides it; and yet ſo much adore their magnified *Sanedrim*, upon the alone talk of ſome Jewiſh Doctors which were but of Yeſterday. And it was a great Error in *Theodore Beza*, and argued in him more Zeal than Judgment; who, in anſwer to this Part of *Eraſtus* in his forementioned Hundred Theſes, aſſerts the Jewiſh Church and State to have been two Bodies, with different Powers for Judicature. And who is followed herein by *Matthew Sutcliffe*, *De Presbyterio*, and others; beſides the very Stipulation and Compact betwixt *Moſes* and *Iſrael* was for the Temporal *Canaan*,

naan, upon Temporal Promiſes and Rewards, Chap. 4.
the Milk and Honey, and quiet Poſſeſſion of it; Nor did the Levitical Covenant as ſuch engage for any more. Whatever good things to come, were expected by the more diſcerning part of them, they receiv'd another way. By accidental occaſional Notices, they ſaw in the Glaſs, through the Veil, in the Type and Shadow (for ſo the Law was in the Plot and Deſign to be unto them,) or by the additional Advantages of the Prophets which God all along ſent unto them, whoſe Buſineſs it was, at leaſt a great part of it, farther to reveal, unfold, and diſcover the End and Purport of the Law unto them, and whoſe report was very hardly believed: and conſequently, as were their Covenant, and Indeatment; ſo were their Awards and Puniſhments. In courſe they were to be Bodily and Temporal, no wonder that Adultery was Puniſh'd by the Sword, and they quite cut off from that good Land, as it afterwards happened unto them. So Saint *Jerome* ſpeaks of the *Jews*, *Qui ob Præſentia tantum bona, Legis præcepta cuſtodiunt, ut terrena Felicitatis & longæ vitæ Præmium conſequuntur—— Qui te ob præſentia tantum rerum promiſſa venerantur*, *Ep. Damaſo. Tom.* 4. who kept the Law only for the preſent Advantage, for long Life and earthly Felicity; and for the preſent Promiſes worſhip God. And St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Strom.* 1. dividing the Law into Four parts, he leaves out that Branch ὁ ἠθικὸς περιεχόμενος, which belongs to Morality, and concludes ἱκανὸν δὲ τὸ κυριολεκτούμενον, the Letter or Hiſtorical part to be alone

Chap. 4. alone Nomothetical, and to oblige as a Law. And ſo we find this one Reaſon of that one Branch of the Law which conſiſts in Sacrifices (not excluding that which is Typical of it) as a tryal of the *Jews* Obedience to God, that the Bleſſing of the Covenant may be continued unto them, *Quâ Populum promtum in Idololatriam & Tranſgreſſionem ejuſmodi Officiis Religioni ſuæ voluit adſtringere. Tertul. adv. Marcion. l. 2. c. 18.* ἵνα μὴ ἰδολολατρῶσι, *Juſt. Martyr. Dialog. cum Triph. Jud. facilem ad Idola reverti Populum erudiebat. Irenæus, l. 4. c. 28.* So St. *Jerome, l. 2. adv. Pelag. Tom. 3.* And in *Jerem. 7. 22. Iſai. 1. 12.* in *Mat. 5.* and all which are followed exactly by *Grotius Comment.* in *Exod. 15. 26.* in *Mat. 5. 17. Eph. 3. 10.* and *De Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ, l. 2. Sect. 9. l. 5. Sect. 7.* So that to ſpeak to the whole at once, the Diſparity between the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Government, being every ways, in the both Frame, Practice and Reward ſo great, the Inferences from the Jewiſh againſt the Chriſtian, cannot be due and juſt, and muſt be alſo wide and inconſiſtent. The Advantage by their Scheme and Objection, as drawn up, is on our ſide; and we thence claim theſe following Concluſions, which no Man, as in themſelves, can deny; though in their thwartings, as to the Deſign of our Adverſaries, and compliance with ours, they are bluſter'd againſt and miſrepreſented.

§. III. THAT as the Levitical Diſcipline in its firſt make and deſign, had only corporal Rewards and Puniſhments promiſed and inflicted ſuitably as the Command and Indent-

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ment was Carnal; So the Body of Christ Chap. 4.
which is Spiritual hath its Rewards and Punishments which are Spiritual and like it self, suitable to its Nature and Constitution, and the Spiritual Commandment. The earthly Magistrate, or worldly Secular Power (as call'd in Antiquity, and which has been sufficiently already observ'd) can have no first, original share, in the Churches Sanctions, and Denunciations, Administrations and Distributions, because a Body in its frame independent, in its design call'd out from the World, capable of the World's favours; but not of either a rise or dissolution by it. And this Mr. *Selden* must submit unto, upon the Supposition, that the Church is a Body, no body subsisting without its Laws, as he learnedly argues, and concludes soundly, in his first Book *De Synedriis*, and not to have Laws within it self, but what are Arbitrary, or borrowed from others, is to destroy the Supposition, and make it no Incloſure, or Self-Community. Or if the Levitical Polity does any ways relate to and infer upon the Christian, as the Christian Church affirms it to do; 'tis as its Type and Shadow, the Law being a Shadow of good things to come, as the Author to the *Hebrews* speaks; for though other Reasons are given, or rather proposed only, by the above-mentioned Fathers of the Church, for the Sacrifical part of the Law, and that it was given upon other Motives; yet they exclude not that design which is Typical, but suppose it in the first place, and the principal purpose of the Law-giver, was by Types and Shadows to represent the

succeeding

Chap. 4. ſucceeding Goſpel. So St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *l.* 7. *Strom.* περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἡμᾶς θύειν ἢ τοῦ μὴ θύειν ἢ τοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐνοσίως ἀλληγορῆσαι, that the Sacrifices under the Law did allegorize, or ſpeak in other things our Worſhip under the Goſpel, σφᾶς αὐτὰς ἱερεύοντες, as he ſpeaks, *Ibid.* the Sacrificing our ſelves, or that we preſent our ſelves *a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable, which is our reaſonable Service*, Rom. 12. 1. *Mentem ipſam pro Sacrificio*, as *Lactantius*, *l.* 5. *Sect.* 19. where the mind it ſelf is the Sacrifice, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην, φιλανθρωπίαν, Temperance, Righteouſneſs and Humanity, is offer'd, in *Juſtin Martyr. Apol.* 2. *Opima hoſtia Oratio. de Carne Pudicâ, De anima innocenti, de ſpiritu ſancto profecta*, as *Tertullian*, *Apol. c.* 30. and 'tis Prayer out of a chaſt Body, an innocent Mind, and an Holy Soul, is the Sacrifice of fat things, *Qui juſtitiam Deo libat, qui fraudibus abſtinet, propitiat Deum, qui hominem periculo ſurripit, optimam victimam caedit, haec noſtra Sacrificia, haec Dei Sacra ſunt*, as *Minutius Fœlix* to the ſame purpoſe. And *Juſtin Martyr*, *Reſponſ. ad Quaeſt.* 101. *ad Orthodoxos*, or whoever was the Author, calls the Law εὐαγγέλιον προκαταγγελόμενον, the Goſpel in the Prophecy, or Pre-publiſhed, and the Goſpel, νόμον πεπληρωμένον, the Law fulfill'd, or in its Completion. *Origen* calls the Law σαρκὸς γένεσιν, the Fleſh of the Scriptures, ſpeaking of the literal ſenſe of it, φιλοκαλ. *Cap.* 1. *Ed. Spencer.* and divides the Scriptures into σῶμα, ψυχὴν, πνεῦμα, the Body and Soul, and Spirit. The Body as to the *Jews*, the Soul to Chriſtians, and the Spirit, relating to life Eternal. And again, That there

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was a Riddle in the Writings of the Old Te- Chap. 4.
ſtament, which the *Jews* underſtood not, *Lib.* 2. *adv. Celſum. Nova veteris adimpletio.* So *Lactantius*, *l.* 4. And *Tertullian* ſays, *l.* 4. *adv. Marcion*, That the Earthly Promiſes of Wine, and Oyl and Corn, *in Spiritualia figurari à Creatore*, did prefigure Spiritual things; *In illa Umbram, in hoc veritatem eſſe dicimus*, the Law is the Shadow, the Goſpel is the Truth; So St. *Jerome* in his firſt Book againſt *Pelagius*, *Imò ſingula penè Syllabæ*, &c. *ad Paulinum*, he makes every Letter there, almoſt of the ſame Nature; and he more than once aſſerts, the Three Orders of the High Prieſt, Prieſt and Levite, to be the fore-runners of the Biſhop, Presbyter and Deacon, under the Goſpel-Prieſthood. And St. *Clemens* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans* ſaid the ſame before him. And though St. *Auguſtine* ſeem'd to blame ſome, that all things there are involved in Allegorical Expreſſions, as 'tis too uſual to outdo things; yet he admits of ſuch as duly thence draw Spiritual Senſes, *Civ. Dei*, *l.* 17. *c.* 3. But that which *Hugo Grotius* cites out of him, and receives, and Publiſhes as his own, in his Annotations *ad Deut.* 17. 12. is more full and appoſite to our purpoſe, *Hoc nunc agit in Eccleſia Excommunicatio, quod agebat tunc interfectio, quæſt. ſuper* Deut. 5. *c.* 38. Excommunication does now the ſame in the Church, as putting to Death did under the Law. And *De fide & Operibus, Cap.* 6. *Phinehes Sacerdos, Adulteros ſimul inventos ferro ultore confixit, quod utique Degradationibus & Excommunicationibus ſignificatum eſt eſſe faciendum hoc tempore.*

Phinehes

Chap. 4. *Phinehes* the Priest stroke through the Belly with a Dart the Adulterers, when found by him together, and which signified, what is to be done now by Degradations and Excommunications in the same Case. So that the summ is this, If Mr. *Selden* will say, That the Levitical Law, and the other Judicial Acts among the *Jews* concern us not at all; and therein affront the concurrency of Christianity; then all his Design and Labour, declaring what their Acts and Punishments were, his main Plot, falls to the Ground, is altogether to no purpose; and he needs no answer. If it does concern us, and thus typifies the Gospel; and which, I think, cannot be denied; then all he has done is against himself, and his particular design; for it flings it unavoidably upon him; that the Spiritual part is now ours, as theirs was Carnal; they punish'd by bodily Mulcts, and Death; we punish by Spiritual, either Suspension, Degradation, particular Penances for a time, or total cuttings off; as, by Excommunication.

§. IV. THAT as Government is absolutely necessary for the continuance of any one Body or Community, and such as live without Laws, are defined by *Aristotle*, *Polit. l.* 1. *c.* 2. ἢ θέειον, ἢ θεῖον, to be a Beast or a God; incapable in their Natures, or above the Inconveniencies of it; though God himself does not manage the World by his Supremacy alone, and higher incontrollable Power; but according to his Justice, and Equity, and Mercy, and other Attributes; and which perhaps *Aristotle* did not consider. And this the

the *Jews* were ſo ſenſible and aware of, that when their Power was given over into the Enemies hands, and they had loſt the Advantages and Protection of it, to keep their Body together and entire, and to which they thought themſelves obliged, by the antecedent Bonds of their Religion, they framed and ſubmitted to an Inſtitution of their own, in order to their preſent Preſervation. And can we then but ſuſpect the incomparable Wiſdom of our Saviour to have ſo far failed in this Point, to inſtitute a particular Society, and leave it originally, and in its deſign, in the hands of its Enemies, under the deepeſt Obligations of a viſible Profeſſion, to continue ſo imbodied; but without any Laws and enforcements of its own, only what is to be received of its Enemies? this certainly cannot fix upon the thoughts of a ſeriouſly conſidering Perſon; at leaſt upon the rs we have now to do with, who ſo much admire the Policy of the diſperſed *Jews* in this particular, and even obtrude it, as the Pattern for ſucceeding Government; for our Saviour Chriſt to do this, is ſo far from outdoing all the Law-givers that have been before him, as it is juſtly contended he did; that it ſinks him below the meaneſt and moſt inconſiderable. The words of the Learned *Grotius* ſeem here moſt appoſite, *Quando quidem Eccleſia cœtus eſt, Divina lege non permiſſus tantum ſed & inſtitutus (De aſpectabili cœtu loquor) ſequuntur ea omnia quæ cœtibus legitimis naturaliter competunt, etiam Eccleſiæ competere, De Imper. Sum. Poteſt.* &c. *Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 9. that ſince the Church is a Company

Chap. 4

Chap. 4. not permitted only, but constituted by God, (I speak of a Company that is visible) all those things which naturally belong to lawful Associations, do also belong unto her. And again, *Omne Corpus Sociale jus habet quædam constituendi quibus membra obligentur, hoc etiam jus Ecclesiæ competere apparet, ex Act.* 15. 28. *Heb.* 13. 17. *Rivet. Apol. Discuss.* every associated Body has a right of constituting such things by which its Members may be obliged; and that this right does belong to the Church is apparent from the Fifteenth of the *Acts* the Twenty eight, and the Thirteenth to the *Hebrews* the Seventeenth.

§. V. THAT as these *Jews* by the naked influence and force of this their Excommunication, where nothing outward and violent to coerce and constrain them, (for such Power is supposed to be gone, when this took place, the Empire cared not for it, as relating to their Religion) did oblige their Members, to preserve that unity, they believ'd themselves oblig'd unto, did govern, and reduce them upon each occasion; and upon this one score are they continued as one Body in the World at this day, the Secular Power giving them no advantage; the case is plain that there may be *Mutatio Status*, as Mr. *Selden* expresseth it, a change of the present Condition, *Capitis quædam apud suos diminutio*, in his Description of Excommunication, *De Synod. l.* 1. *c.* 7. abatement of Priviledges in respect of that Body, and which is not Death, on any other Bodily infliction, as he there explains it, falls under no outward forcible Restraint; for whatever was of this kind,

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was annexed to their Excommunication, by the Empire; and is by Mr. *Selden* acknowledged not of its Nature, *Ibid.* nor indeed in their Captivities could they execute it. And this considered, will abate what is so much objected against Church-Government, that it cannot be at all, because not, as is the Secular, sensible and coercing, not outwardly forcing a compliance, no such Penal Virtue and Efficacy, that Men cannot choose but bow and submit unto it. The loss of that Communion to which once imbodied, suitable to the Advantages expected in, or Peril incurr'd upon a disunion from it, is Motive sufficient, even coercively obliging to him; who on rational and true Grounds closed with, and submitted to the Association, and this particularly to the Christian, who imbodies for Eternity, whose loss is Heaven, whose Punishment is Hell, if fully and justly cut off; who believes, that out of this Society, Church or Collection of Persons, there is no Salvation. Chap. 4.

§. VI. THAT God's particular Wisdom and Providence did go along with the *Jewish* People, in whatever they were to do or suffer; and that all had a special Relation and Prospect to Christianity which was to succeed. This appears more than probable, it was in the Plot and Design, to disenclose the *Jews* by degrees, to lead them by steps and gradations without the Temple into the Church-Catholique, to work them off from their Carnal Ordinances, and Expectations; and prepare the way for the coming of Christ, and the Worship in Spirit and Truth; to accom-

Chap. 4. pliſh upon them with more eaſe, and facility and obviouſneſs, what was at firſt deſign'd for a full End and Period. And that the Goſpel might with leſs prejudice, and more readineſs be received at its Promulgation. And we have ſeveral Inſtances of this kind, both before, all along throughout, and the midſt of the Levitical Diſpenſation. Such as were not of the Deſcent of *Abram* were ſtill taken in, and *Gentiles* admitted to Salvation, and not upon either the Levitical, or Abrahamitical Compact or Indentment. So *Job* in the Land of *Huz*. So the *Ninevites* upon the terms alone of Repentance and Amendment. Of the ſame ſort were the σεβόμενοι, or *Gracian* Worſhippers amongſt the *Jews*, call'd Proſelytes of Righteouſneſs, known to every Body. This was one great end why Chriſt ſent his many Prophets early and late unto them, to take them off from the Carnal Services, to open and unfold the true and farther meaning of them, and in what reſpect they were enjoyned. That it was not the Sacrifice it ſelf and burnt Offerings, new Moons, Incenſe and Oblations, God then required, but Purity, Judgment and Humility, to obey the Voice of God. As is evident in every one of the Prophecies, each of their Sermons and Diſcourſes; particularly *Iſa.* 1. *Jer.* 7. *Micah* 6. and the nearer they came to their end, the more Zealous and Active were they; witneſs the Prophet *Malachy*, the laſt of all. Unfathomable and undiſcernible Providence, ſave only in its Effects, ſo order'd it, that their Captivities are the greateſt inſtances in this Nature,

Nature, they more sensibly and forcibly prevailed in order to it; divested them of their Temple, without which they would not have thought they could have lived one day, and so led them by the same Necessity, to that Worship, and Service and Form of Government, which in the Design and Appointment of God was to overspread the whole Earth, and remain to the Restitution of all things. Thus came it about, that the Seventy and two *Jews*, themselves Translated the Holy Bible into Greek, the most known Language of the then civilized and learned Part of the World, and which at some times to have done was Piaculous; and what then this, could more tend to the Conversion of the *Gentiles?* This occasioned that Design of those Pious Persons, *Jesus* the Son of *Syrach*, and the Author of the *Book of Wisdom*, whoever he was, of drawing them off from Judaism, and instilling the Gospel-Service and Obedience, which was by and by to succeed, and to be Eternal; whose devout most Holy Pens taking the advantage of their present Captivity, and forlorn State, without their Pompous carnal Ordinances, uncapable of the Temple Duties, instructed and urg'd upon them that Religion, which the Accidents or Contingencies of the World could not deprive them the Exercise of. Neither time, nor Place, nor Person, could obstruct the Performance, true Holiness, Obedience, and Judgment to come; and which alone would bring them Peace at the last. And we may safely say, That in these Moral Writings of theirs, there is, though not more Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. of the Gospel; yet it is more plain here, and open and intelligible, than in all the Books of the Old Testament beside; what is there only in either Shades and Types, the Mystical allegorical Sense, or else upon the glance, and by accident, spoken, is here with open face, in the intent and purpose. And I may speak it out, That the Resurrection of the Body is so evidently Professed by the Mother of the Seven Sons in the *Maccabees*, *Cap.* 2. *v.* 7. that the like was not done before it. Sure I am, not in the Levitical Law, which is at the most but shadow'd there, and even the wiser scarce saw and discern'd it; and for certain, a Sect there was among them, those of the Sadducees, that were Zealous for the Law, and yet believed neither Angel, nor Spirit, nor the World to come; so great Enemies to themselves, to the early appearance of Christianity, to a great Evidence for it against the *Jews*, are they, who refuse and reject, this so huge an advantage of these Apocryphal Writings, and that will not read them, though Saint *Paul* did, and hence made Evidence to his Auditors, that the Resurrection in those days was believed, *Heb.* 11. 33, 34, &c. because the Evidence is less clear, that they were indited by the immediate impulse of God, as were the other parts of the Old Testament, being Penn'd since the days of *Malachy*, after whom we have no avouchment for any other Prophets, and therefore call'd *Apochryphal*; because thus hidden and obscure in their Original. St. *Austin*, *Ep.* 4. to *Volusianus* a great Contemner of Christianity, among other Arguments of God's Power and

and Wiſdom in the managery of it, brings this for one, *Reproba per Infidelitatem gens ipſa Judæorum à ſedibus extirpata per mundum uſq; quaq; diſpergitur, ut ubiq; portet Codices Sanctos, ac ſi Prophetiæ Teſtimonium qua Chriſtus & Eccleſia prænuntiata eſt, vè ad tempus à vobis fictum exiſtimaretur, ab ipſis Adverſariis Proferatur, ubi etiam ipſos prædictum eſt non fuiſſe credituros.* The *Jew* carries with him the Bible into what Nation he is diſperſed, and Chriſt and his own belief, ſo plainly there foretold, never want a Teſtimony thereby, of his own, aſſerting the one, and upbraiding the other. And on theſe Grounds it is we may probably Collect, that this Aſſociation of the *Jews*, in a voluntary Diſcipline, occaſioned by reaſon of ſuch their Captivity, and which a rigider Neceſſity brought them to, being depriv'd of their proper Government, and depending on themſelves alone, was an early inſtance of the like imbodying and Juriſdiction in the ſucceeding Church of Chriſt; a Prelibation of that his Kingdom, not long after to come down from Heaven, and ſuch its abſtracted independent Polity is therein anticipated. Chap. 4.

§. VII. WHEN Mr. *Selden* goes on and tells us, That the Government of the Church was *Caſarean*, only, becauſe it was imbodied in the State, at leaſt indulg'd by the Empire, this has as little of Argument as any one could wiſh, unleſs he had prov'd the Church had had no other bottom to ſtand upon; that to Inſtitute and Protect were all one; and that it could not be from Chriſt and from *Caſar* in different reſpects, the contrary to

Chap. 4. which has been made to appear all along in this Discourse; and the Churches in *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Cæsarea*, *Rome*, might all be, and were, of an Antecedent Institution, though the Owning and Protection from the Empire was much to their advantage; or why should this be concluded against the Christians, and not against the *Jews?* who are supposed to have instituted their own Discipline under the Captivity, before *Judea* was reduced to a Province, and they profess'd Subjection to the Empire, and all along retain'd it, and all other Rites, or at least so many of them as their conquer'd Condition did render them capable of Practising, as immediately from God, and independent to the State; nor will any one venture to assert otherwise. The Law was given by the Mediation of Angels, indeed; but Princes were not so much as instrumental in it, and after its first giving, even to the days of St. *Paul*, both the Law, and the Temple and *Cæsar*, were distinct Powers, created different Obligations, and he Pleads for himself as injurious to neither of them, in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Deputy *Gallio* there had failed much of his Duty, when caring for none of these things, had the Matters of their Religion resolv'd it self immediately into *Cæsar*, especially since Mr. *Selden* contends that all the Priviledges the Christians enjoy'd as to their Religion, they had as *Jews*, going under their Names, and, as such, reputed. Nor could the Empire upon this his Supposition, assume any Power as to their Religion, he did not over the *Jewish*.

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And to make good this his Precarious and impertinent Preſumption [That for ſome years after our Saviour's Aſcenſion, the *Jews* and Chriſtians went under the Name of *Jews*, and were reputed as one] he is more precarious yet; and goes on in his Arbitrary way, and tells us, That no *Gentiles* during that time were admitted Diſciples to Chriſt, but ſuch as were before Proſelytes, either of the Gates, or of Juſtice, or firſt Circumciſed: all which, if true, is nothing to his deſigned end; for the Chriſtians might ſhelter themſelves under that Name, to partake of, by that means, the Priviledges and Immunities, the Empire beſtow'd upon the *Jews*, and retain their diſtinct Rites and Character, their own particular Sentiments, as other Sects did, *Multis in locis Judæos Chriſtum ſequentes in Synagogas admiſſos fuiſſe credam, dummodo ritus ſervarent Judaicos* (*Grotius Appendix ad Comment. de Antichriſto.*) That in many places the *Jews* which followed Chriſt were admitted into the Synagogue, it may be believed, eſpecially if we conſider, that the *Jewiſh* Rites were obſerved for ſome time, together with the Chriſtian, at leaſt not publickly abſented from and declar'd againſt. So St. *Paul* had his Vow, and Paid it in the Temple, upon a Private Conſideration and future deſign; ſo he cauſed *Timothy* to be Circumciſed. But though the Empire might conſider them no farther, then as Men of another Profeſſion, as to Religion in general, from it ſelf, and ſo grant one Toleration for them all, and the Chriſtians upon particular occaſions might intermix with the *Jews*, yet that they Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. they were visible and distinguishable, as distinct Bodies, and different Associations, the Case of St. *Paul* makes manifest, when Purifying himself in the Temple, how the *Jews* which were of *Asia* soon discovered him and ran tumultuously upon him, and drew him out of it. And that those Greeks then with St. *Paul*, were no Proselytes at all, either of the Gates or of Justice, though Christians, as Mr. *Selden* supposes all Christians were, is more than likely, *Acts* 21. and the whole Book of these Acts of the Apostles, renders notorious; whence otherwise all those other Persecutions from the *Hebrews?* and that their Women so raved and blasphemed, when the *Gentiles* were received as equal sharers in the Mercies of God with themselves, if all were Proselytes before and no more was now pretended to? The Christians did not suffer more afterwards, by the Heathen Powers, than they did thus early by the unbelieving *Jews*, so far as they were able, which certainly is no mark of being of the same Body, and using the same Synagogue and Service; the *Jews* in general and the Christians were so far from thus associating in one Body, and appearing every ways the same (however upon particular occasions some of them might) that the Believing *Jews* and the *Gentile* Christians, still made a Separation for a good pretty while after our Saviour's Ascension; how wide the rent, and great the distance was, we read in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, even to a with-drawing and Separation. And the Church Story is evident they had their distinct Bishops and Congregations

tions in the ſame City; as St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* at *Rome*, and ſo continued till after the Siege at *Jeruſalem*, when the Chriſtians departed to *Ælia*, as *Grotius* tells us, in his Annotations on the Eleventh Chapter and Third Verſe of the *Revelations*. Chap. 4.

§. VIII. BUT theſe at the moſt are but trifling Diſcourſes, and altogether Foreign to the point in hand, nor could Mr. *Selden* deſign them any otherwiſe than as a Gild and Varniſh to his main Body, and ill managed Diſcourſe preceding; That which is his fundamental Error, the bottom of his whole deſign, and which all his Complices begin with and manage together with himſelf, is this; That there can be no Government, which is not of this World, but what is by the Powers, Managery, Methods and Inſtruments, Courſes, outward Compulſions and Penalties of it; each of whoſe Forces and Ligaments muſt operate by the outward Organs, ſenſibly and in a viſible manner. In this Suppoſal is his whole Diſcourſe laid, as we have already from himſelf, ſtated it, in the latter end of the Third Chapter, in ſome inſtances ſhew'd the weakneſs of the Plea it ſelf, how inconſiſtent with his own Schemes and Conceſſions; and what ſeems farther neceſſary to a thorow Anſwer, and the carrying on withal, and clearing this my own particular Diſcourſe, follows in the ſucceeding Sections.

§. IX. AND part of my Anſwer ſhall be by way of Conceſſion, yielding to him in ſome meaſure, what he contends for, That the Kingdom, Government and Juriſdiction of the Goſpel

Chap. 4. Gospel is not, cannot be outwardly forcing and Coercive, by the either Instruments or Penalties of this World. To assert such a Power erected by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is immediately and with the same breath, to publish it a Cheat, an Imposture and Usurpation, 'tis in the very letter to Affront and Contradict, the very Plot, Frame, and Constitution of it, since Christ himself has declared that his Kingdom is not of this World, neither laid in the contrivance, either sustain'd or supported in the ways and courses of it. If it had been so, he had surely never appeared in the World in that meaner form and lower order he did, a different way then by dying upon the Cross had been design'd for the managery and accomplishment of it, he could have call'd for Fire from Heaven as *Elijah* did upon the Head of his Gain-sayers, a course of Proceedings agreeable enough to that present Constitution, whose Rewards and Penalties were Carnal, in the hands of a Temporal Jurisdiction, or have had Millions of Angels his Seconds, to smite, as they did *Sennacherib*'s Army, in one Night, one Minute, all that opposed, that sat in Judgment against him; or with but one word from his Mouth, laid any one gain-sayer flat upon the ground; as he did those few that came first to lay hold of him, when he was betrayed; He was not sent into the World weak and unable, with less perfect Credentials and Instructions, or lesser Power, than other Prophets or Holy Men had, which were sent into the World before him, all was full and perfect, in order to the Message and Embassy, the Er-

Errand he came into the World for, he came with more, with all, Power in Heaven and Earth given him, the Power of the Kingdom wholly and ſolely delivered up unto him; only he came of a different Errand and Deſign, than ſome others had come of before him, he was of another Spirit, and to work his work quite in another manner, and by other Weapons; not ſuch as were Carnal, but Spiritual, mighty indeed, to the beating down ſtrong holds, but of Sin and Sathan; he came not to deſtroy, but to ſave that which was loſt, to lay hold on the Seed of *Abram*, when he paſſed by the fallen Angels, leſt they come into their blackneſs of darkneſs, thoſe Chains they are now reſerv'd in for Judgment. And let any one but ſeriouſly peruſe, and conſider this great Myſtery of Godlineſs; God manifeſt in the Fleſh, juſtified in the Spirit, ſeen of Angels, Preach'd unto the *Gentiles*, believed on in the World, and received up into Glory, let him look over the Hiſtory of his Saviour, his firſt coming from Heaven, his whole Life, Actings, Suffering, Dying, riſing again and aſcending into Heaven, and he can diſcern nothing like an outward ſenſible, worldly Regiment and Juriſdiction to be erected or executed by him, any outward force upon Mens either Perſons, or Lives or Fortunes, in bringing about that work he was ſent for into the World by the Father to do, is the intent and purpoſe of it; and as he had not, neither can he be conceived to have had, a deſign in his own Perſon to exerciſe a worldly Dominion, or did he delegate others, his Apoſtles Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. ſtles and principal Miniſters, to any ſuch Office and Undertakings; his being Preach'd to the *Gentiles* and believed on in the World, implied or inferr'd nothing of it, but the quite contrary; nor could any be his Adherents and Followers, on any ſuch purpoſes. With an induſtrious Zeal he ſtill removed it out of the apprehenſions and thoughts of his Diſciples when on Earth among them; he told St. *Peter* he was an Offence to him, when favouring theſe things of Men, fancying him to reign as a Temporal Prince on Earth; with outward force and Power to repel the Injuries of his Adverſaries, St. *Mat.* 16. 21, 22, 23. As alſo when his Diſciples required him to call down Fire from Heaven upon the Heads of his Enemies in St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, urging to St. *Peter*, and all of them thoſe quite different Doctrines of his Goſpel, That if any man will come after him, let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs and follow him; that whoſoever will ſave his life ſhall loſe it, and whoſoever will loſe his life, ſhall ſave it; and 'tis to ſave the Soul, not gain the World, is to be their aim in becoming his Diſciples. And thus did they Preach Chriſt ever ſince the Holy Ghoſt ſo fully came upon them; reproving the World of Sin, of Righteouſneſs, and Judgment, the work of the Comforter, *Joh.* 16. 7, 8. And that trifling Argument, as if want of Power and Prudential forbearance made them not to attempt any thing more, is what cannot fall under the thoughts of a conſidering Perſon. He that by Twelve mean Perſons, as were the Apoſtles, could convert

convert ſo great a part of the World, by the ſame Power and Inſtruments could he have over-ruled the Perſons of the reſt of the World; to Maſter and bring into Captivity to the Law of Faith, an undiſciplined, unruly Underſtanding and Will, is as great a Work of the Almighty, as to ſubdue the whole Perſon. The Mind is as difficultly conquer'd as the Body, and more difficultly too; becauſe no immediate outward force can be put upon it. He that when meer Idiots and Ignaro's gave them the Underſtanding and Tongue of the Learned, could alſo have given them the Arm of the Mighty and Valiant. St. *Peter*, who with but one word from his Mouth ſtruck dead *Ananias* and *Saphira* his Wife for cheating the Church, might with one word from his Mouth alſo have reverſed the Edict of *Nero*, appointing him to be crucified at *Rome*, have enfeebled thoſe hands of the Executioner, that nailed and fixed him on the Croſs. St. *Paul* who ſtruck *Elymas* the Sorcerer Blind, might have ſmote *Ananias* on the Bench, made that officious reviling Orator *Tertullus* to be Dumb, and baffled *Nero* with all his Power, had outward Coercion and Force been the aſſigned way to Plant and Propagate Religion, a general courſe ſet up, a ſtanding Rule, either for the preſent, or Succeſſion of Ages. However God thought fit to give ſpecial Inſtances of ſuch his Power upon particular notorious Sinners, by the hands of his Apoſtles, to let the World ſee it was not againſt the Nature of the Goſpel, though not in the intent of it, thus to have them dealt with in par- Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. particular Cases; to preserve the horror in remembrance, till the appointed time, till the Empire became Christian; in whose hands, not the Apostles, and their Succession, this outward forcing punishing part does reside, in its constant perpetual Seat or Subject, *Ita tunc Deus supplebat id quod Magistratus Ecclesiæ præstare debent, & tunc non Præstabant, Grotius*, in 1 *Cor.* 4. 21. Then God did supply what the Magistrates ought to have discharged, and did not; instancing in these very Punishments of *Ananias* and *Saphira* struck Dead, of *Elymas* the Sorcerer struck Blind, and of the Bodily Diseases sent out upon others. Our Saviour Christ in his Life designed and contrived upon every occasion, when any appearance that others should suspect him, or when any apt opportunity to express and declare himself, that he was neither to exempt himself from any instance of Subjection to his Governors, nor exercise in any Case the Jurisdiction that was theirs, and for this he Pays Tribute, refuses to divide Inheritances; nor did he invade any one private Person, and we read of but one Colt, that he commanded to be brought unto him, to which, as what was his Title we do not read, so are we not told of any injury done by it; nor of any Complaint made in the Streets on the occasion. And his Death, though pre-ordained in the fore determination of God, for no one worldly end or design, to serve no one Political Purpose, but solely and altogether to satisfie for the Sins of Man, to make compleat our Redemption; yet it was ordered that the earthy Governors should

ſhould have a Power given them from above, Chap. 4
for a legal Proceſs and judicial Trial upon him; he died in a courſe of Law, and a Poſture of Obedience to them. And although it muſt be granted that ſome of the ancient Fathers, and moſt eminent firſt Chriſtians did Believe and Publiſh to the World, that Chriſt ſhould come again and reign upon Earth in his Perſon, as Supreme Governor of all, and his Saints with and by him in the independent, full freedom, uſe and advantage of the Goods of this World, and of Senſe, that *Jeruſalem* ſhould be Rebuilt; its Streets enlarged and inhabited by them. So *Juſtin Martyr, Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. Irenæus lib. 5. cont. Hereſ. c. 32. Tertul. lib. 3. cont. Marcion. c. 24.* with *Lactantius*, and others; yet it amounted not to an Univerſal receiv'd Opinion of that Age. *Juſtin Martyr* acknowledges there were many καθαροὶ & Εὐσεβεῖς γνώμαι, Holy and Pious in their Judgments which did not acknowledge it. And *Euſebius* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, lib. 3. cap. 39.* giving that ſlender account of its riſe and original from *Papias*, tells us that many, but not all Eccleſiaſtical Writers, led by a ſhew of the Antiquity, aſſented unto it; but yet this was not by any of them expected during this ſtate of things on Earth, and in the Regeneration, *Sed alio ſtatu, utpote poſt reſurrectionem*, as *Tertullian. Tom. 4. inter fragmenta*, ἐν σάρξι ἀνάστασιν γενομένην, & χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ, as *Juſtin Martyr ſupra. Ibid. Poſt Reſurrectionem, coram judicio, terram poſſidebunt.* As *Irenæus, Ibid.* but not till after the Reſurrection, *ante cælum*, before their Aſ-

Chap. 4. cension into Heaven, as *Tertullian* again, *Ibid.* when all Rule and Autority and Power has had its just Time and Period upon Earth, is put under foot alone by God; it seeming just that in what condition they had laboured and been afflicted, tried and proved by all manner of ways or Sufferings upon Earth; they there receive the Reward and Fruit of such their Sufferings, as *Irenæus* ill argues, *in qua enim conditione laboraverunt sive afflicti sunt, omnibus modis probati per sufferentiam, justum est in eâ recipere fructus sufferentiæ*; they cannot be conceived to have thoughts of either evading or invading the Civil Power, which then was supposed to be none at all, because after the Resurrection, and of which during its time for continuance by God affixed, they were the most Zealous Maintainers and Asserters, as has been already shew'd. So far do they erre from the Spirit of these first and eminent Christians, who pretending to the same *Millennium*, or reign upon Earth, oppose and fight against their present Governors, to hasten and effect it.

§. X. BUT then to argue on the other hand, that because it was not the design of the Gospel to erect a Temporal Kingdom upon Earth, Christ and his Apostles design'd and erected none at all, they had really no Power, no Autority, committed unto them, this is as wide from Truth, this runs from one extreme to the other; which indeed is the usual course of such as are designed for error. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his Admonition to the Gentiles, observed it of old among them, and that their Ignorance still led them into one

one of the two Extremes, of either Ignorance or Superstition, ἀκρότητος ἀεὶ ἀμαθίας, ἀθεότης ἢ δεισιδαιμονία, either they Worshipped their many ridiculous beastliest Gods, or else none at all, denied the only true God. On this score *Evenemus Agrigentinus*, *Nicanor Cyprius*, *Diagoras*, *Hippo*, *Melius* and *Theodorus*, with some others were called Atheists; Men that considered not the Truth, only saw the Error of the then abominable Worships and Acknowledgments. And the same is easily acknowledg'd throughout the whole Ecclesiastical Tradition, how, as Atheists before, so Hereticks since, have still run the same way; and their Heresies, by these courses, been either started or maintained. Thus that Pestilent Sect of the *Arians* united, not only with the *Miletian* Schismaticks, but with the Heathens too, the more to oppose, and make numerous their Party against the Catholicks, as we have it in *Sozomen*, *Hist. Eccles. lib.* 1. *c.* 15. *Athanas. Orat.* 1. *Cont. Arium.* and in his Apology, *Pag.* 731. and his Epistle *Ad Solitariam vitam agentes.* And the same did the Donatists after them, who set open the Idol Temples, that themselves might have liberty, applauded and sided with *Julian* the Apostate, and gave opportunity for the Publick Worship of the Devil, that they might with full freedom serve their own particular Designs, and their Malice and Revenge be gratified, as St. *Austin* and *Optatus* at large declare, *Contra Petil. cap.* 8. 92. *Ep.* 48. *&c. Contr. Parmen. Donatist. lib.* 2. I might all along trace them down, I'le only make my farther instances in what comes more nearly Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. up to the caſe in hand, becauſe there may be ſuch a thing as Domination over the Clergy. Therefore there is no real Power to be exerciſed over them, becauſe *Diotrephes* affected a Superiority where it belong'd not unto him; therefore a Biſhop and a Presbyter muſt be of equal Power. The Church of God muſt not exerciſe Autority as do the Kings of the *Gentiles*; therefore whatever the Power they execute is, muſt be Tyranny and Uſurpation. The Church of *Rome* have notoriouſly exceeded their Commiſſion, Pretended to what they never had, either from Chriſt or St. *Peter*, as to depoſe Kings, to acquit their Subjects of their Allegiance, exerciſing Temporal, outward Coercive Power, as in their Charter by Religion. Therefore the Church of God has no Charter at all, is no Body or Corporation Autoritative and Juridical; or as Mr. *Selden* and his Friends argue, we read of no other Power in the World before, but what was ſenſible, outward, and coercive; and all Goſpel-Power muſt be ſuch or none, a Plea to what is otherwiſe, is a Cheat and Impoſture. And in anſwer to which, I muſt here repeat in part what I have ſaid in the beginning of the Third Chapter of this Treatiſe upon another occaſion.

§. XI. THAT the Church is a Body, but of a quite differing Nature, a various Deſign and Conſtitution, for another purpoſe, according to that *eternal purpoſe, which he purpoſed in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord*, Eph. 3. 11. a Body, but the Body of Chriſt, framed and fitted alone according to the fulneſs of the meaſure of his Stature, *his Body which is the Church*, Eph.

Eph. 5. 23. an Aſſociation of People incor- Chap. 4.
porated and united under him their Head, *in one Spirit, one Lord, one Baptiſm, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all*, Eph. 4. 4, 5. growing *up into him in all things, who is the head, even Chriſt*, Epheſ. 4. 15. a Body that is to be viſible, ſubject to outward ſenſe, but 'tis by an Holy Life, and Religious Converſation; that which Men are to ſee, is their good works, and *glorifie their Father which is in Heaven*; and all grants to its Officers, Power, Means, Ordinances, are only in order hereunto; the only change here deſign'd, is the change of our vile Bodies, *that they may be like unto Chriſt's glorious Body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to ſubdue all things unto himſelf.* A Lordſhip there is, but not over Kings and Scepters; 'tis Death and Sin Chriſt Jeſus treads under his Feet only. He is the Lord of the Sabbath inveſted with all Power in Heaven and Earth, relating to God's Worſhip and Service, his Adoration and Homage, to appoint, ſtabliſh and fix, as he pleaſes, for ever.

A BODY or Corporation, with its diffe- §. XII.
rent Organs, Parts and Members; the Eye to ſee, the Ear to hear, and the Foot to walk, with Parts more and leſs Honorable; with diverſe Gifts and Graces, according to the meaſure of the Gift of Chriſt, ſome to Govern, others to Obey; ſome to Preſide, others to Submit, and be ruled by them. Some of which Governors were to remain only for a time, others to continue for ever; as, the

Chap. 4. Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons; Orders of Men, instituted and invested by Christ, not with an improper, as some speak with abatement, but with a true real Præfecture, "Power and Jurisdiction in the Church, that "sitting upon Twelve Thrones and Judging, "that Spiritual Grace and Investiture, to be "collated, and so Promised, in the παλιγγενεσια, "the new Age or State beginning just after "the Resurrection of Christ; it is an Auto-"ritative, Paternal Power of Chastisements, "Discipline and Government, to be exer-"cised on all its Subjects; each one that has "given up his Name unto Christ, (that ex-"pects any benefit of the incorporation) for "the keeping them in some compass, with-"in the terms of a Peaceable, Holy, tru-"ly Christian Congregation; As are the words of our Learned Doctor *Hammond*, in his Treatise of *The Power of the Keys*, *Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 1.

§. XIII. AN Incorporation with differing Offices and Duties, Powers and Capacities, from any other in the World; to be call'd out from others, from the World or any Society in it, and to unite in a diverse Association, which has peculiar Laws and Rules, even of Morality, is not enough to specifie constitute and expres the Church of Christ, to signalize that Collection or Association which is Christian. All believe and assent so far that there is such a Sect and Coalition of Persons as are called Christians, in the World, and is usually call'd a *Church*; 'tis Matter of Fact, self-evident, and not to be denied. But this Body or Church is not known and acknowledged

ledged to have ſuch means of Salvation, ſuch Power and Efficacy, ſuch Properties and Priviledges, as the true Church of Chriſt implies and contains. The name Church (ἐκκλησία) belongs to Prophane, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Congregations; whether in *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Alexandria*, or *Jeruſalem*, as *Origen* argues againſt *Celſus*, *lib.* 3. but all have not the Powers & Operations alike. The Church of God is a Society, as with differing Members and Offices, Services and Obligations: So, to differing Ends, with differing Gifts and Endowments; *For the perfecting the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying the Body of Chriſt*, Epheſ. 4. 12. the building, and raiſing them to Heaven, *in the unity of the faith and knowledge of the Son of God. Sciendum eſt illam eſſe veram Eccleſiam, in qua eſt Confeſſio & Penitentia, qua peccata & vulnera, quibus ſubjecta eſt imbecillitas carnis, ſalubriter curat*, as *Lactantius*, *Lib.* 4. *Sect. Ult. Ubi Eccleſia, ibi Spiritus Dei, & ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Eccleſia & omnis gratia*, So *Irenæus*, *l.* 3. *c.* 40. that is the true Church, where Confeſſion is and Repentance, with wholſome means to cure thoſe Wounds and Sins, to which the weakneſs of the Fleſh is ſubject; where there is the Spirit of God and all Grace, as in the Armory of *David*, thoſe many Shields of the Mighty, Divine Aſſiſtances and Remedies for Eternity. *Catholicum nomen non ex Univerſitate gentium. Sed ex Plenitudine Sacramentorum*; as St. *Auſtin* relates of the Donatiſts, well replying, *Collat. cum Donatiſt. Tertii Diei*, the fulneſs of the Sacraments, not the bare Coalition of Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. all the Nations in the World, makes the true Catholick Church. And St. *Austin* himself says the same, *Ep.* 48. *Vincentio fratri*, where there is that δεύτερον, and δεύτερον καθαρμον, first and second cleansing and Purgation, the one the Effect of Baptism, the other of Repentance. In *Sozomen*'s Church History, *l.* 1. *c.* 3. Now these different Powers and Duties, as distant from all others in the World besides; so being diverse also as to themselves, and in respect of one another, according to the several Gifts and Relations; these are either common to the whole, each Member of the Association, every Believer, or else, they are limited and appropriate to particular distinct Orders and Offices in the Body. What Duties and Offices are common, and what appropriate, I am now to declare, and explain.

§. XIV. AS Christians in common, all of one Body, and under one Head, so had they one common Faith, which every one Professed, to which each assented, and gave up his understanding whole and entire, and which was a first instance of their Union, as an Incorporation, a signal Badg or Mark, by which as a watch-word they were known to one another, and distinguished from the whole World besides; Now this object of belief, and to which they declared their Adhesion, was indeed, Jesus the Son of God, or Christ and him Crucified, as delivered by Christ and the Apostles down unto them; but because these Rules must be many and Instructions numerous, as they are to this day as given in the Scriptures; and every good Christian,

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and who is inſtructed for the Kingdom of Glory, cannot be ſuppoſed with Knowledge and Judgment enough, ſo to digeſt them, as to be ready to anſwer to every Man that asketh a Reaſon of his Faith that is in him, or ſo as his own need ſhall require, in his daily Confeſſions and Acknowledgments to God. I'le add, ſo as the Duties in common, to be performed by all as Chriſtians, even the moſt learned Scribe among them ſhall exact; for the rehearſing their Faith, and open Confeſſion of it before Men, was a branch of their conſtant Devotions. And it muſt be as impertinent, and unhandſom, when they come together, if every one have a diverſe Interpretation, Digeſtion and Expreſſion of his Faith, as if every one ſhould have a differing Prayer, Hymn, or Thankſgiving; the World muſt believe them all Mad; nothing can be done to Edification, nothing of Order and Peace, only Confuſion be in the Churches of God. Hence that Summary of what is to be believed and confeſſed, the Apoſtles Creed, was compoſed, 'tis generally concluded, by the Twelve Apoſtles themſelves; and to which, if St. *Paul*'s form of Doctrine delivered, *Rom.* 6. 17. his form of ſound words, that good thing committed to *Timothy*'s truſt, to be kept by him, and to be conveigh'd to others, 1 *Tim.* 2. 20. 2 *Tim.* 1. 13, 14. 2. 2. related not; yet thus much may certainly be collected thence, That they had Summaries of Chriſtianity, antecedent to St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and which ſuppoſe theſe Doctrines receiv'd; and purſuant to which St. *Paul* wrote his Epiſtles, Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. ſtles, as general needs, and in courſe requir'd, or upon particular occaſion of falſe Teachers coming in, thoſe vain Bablings and Oppoſitions of Science falſely ſo called, which ſome Profeſſing, have erred from the Truth; and by which Summaries they were to cenſure and exclude them. And the ſame may be St. *Peter*'s Holy Commandment delivered, 2 *Pet.* 2. 21. And St. *John*'s Unction received; or that which they heard from the beginning, and which he Exhorts them to abide in, and it will teach them all things, 1 *John* 2. 20. 24. 27. but of whatever uſe they were to the conſerving of Truth, and ejection of Hereſies (and which falls not under this Head now to purſue.) Certain it is Creeds they had and Collections of Faith to be aſſented to and Profeſſed by all that were Baptized, or any ways admitted into the Body and Society of Chriſtians. Baptiſm is a Stipulation, Agreement and Aſſent. *Aliquid reſpondentes*, as *Tertullian* ſpeaks, *de Corona Militis*, *Cap.* 3. There is ſomething anſwer'd, profeſſed, and engaged in. And *Dionyſius* in *Euſebius*, *Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 7. *c.* 9. there mentions ἐπερωτήσεων καὶ ἀποκρίσεων, Queſtions and Anſwers in uſe at Baptiſm, and which were made in part relating to what they believed, and receiv'd as Chriſtians. Thus *Irenæus Cont. Hæreſes*, *lib.* 1. *c.* 1. ſpeaks of κανόνα ἀληθείας, a Canon or Rule of Truth which is receiv'd when Baptized. So *Tertullian*, *Lib. de Spectaculis*, c. 4. *Cum aquam ingreſſi, Chriſtianam fidem in Legis ſuæ verba profitemur.* Going into the Water, we make Profeſſion of Chriſtianity. St. *Cyprian* tells the ſame,

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Sed & ipſa interrogatio qua ſit in Baptiſmo teſtis eſt veritatis. Nam cum dicimus, Credis in vitam Æternam, & remiſſionem peccatorum per Sanctam Eccleſiam, intelligimus remiſſionem peccatorum non niſi in Eccleſia dari, The Queſtion at Baptiſm is a witneſs of the Truth. And when we ſay we believe *Forgiveneſs of Sins, and Life Everlaſting*, and *the Holy Church*; we underſtand that *Remiſſion of Sins* is given only in the Church, *Ep.* 70. St. *Jerome adv. Luciferianos* ſays alſo, *Solenne ſit in lavacro poſt Trinitatis Confeſſionem, interrogare, Credis in Sanctâ Eccleſia? Credis remiſſionem Peccatorum.* 'Tis uſual at Baptiſm after the Confeſſion of the Trinity, to ask, *Doſt thou believe in the Holy Church, and Remiſſion of Sins?* and *l.* 2. *adv. Pelag. in Confeſſione Baptiſmatis, lavat nos à Peccatis ſanguis Chriſti*, in our Confeſſion at Baptiſm, *the Blood of Chriſt*, waſhes us from our Sins, *Interrogamus an Credat Deo.* So *Optatus, l.* 5. *cont. Parmen. Donatiſt.* We ask if he believes in God, *Credo, inquis, in Deum.* Thou ſayeſt, *I Believe in God*; having renounced the World and Devil at Baptiſm. *Salvian, l.* 6. *De gubernat. Dei.* And accordingly are they found together in *Euſebius*, *Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 7. *c.* 8. πίστιν καὶ ὁμολογίαν, Faith and Confeſſion, *i. e.* Baptiſm and Confeſſion; for ſo is the frequent Eccleſiaſtical Phraſe of Faith, *Nec ſecundas poſt fidem nuptias permittitur noſſe*, they muſt not Marry again after Baptiſm, or after Confeſſion of Faith, by which Baptiſm is expreſſed, *Tertul. Exhort. ad Caſtitat. c.* 1. with many of the like Nature, *Lib. de Pudicit. Cap.* 16. *Scorpiac. c.* 8, *&c.* where *Fides* and *Baptiſma* are Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. are but diverſe Expreſſions of the ſame thing, Baptiſm being a Publick Confeſſion of Faith in and Adheſion to the Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus; an open undertaking of it upon its Terms and Conditions. And ſo in the Imperial Laws, *Cod. 16. Tit. 7. l. 4.* to violate Baptiſm is to violate Faith given up to Chriſt. And the ancient Church diſtinguiſhing of Chriſtians into *Fideles* and *Catecumenos*; thoſe were the πιστοι, or Faithful, who were Baptized; in oppoſition to the *Catechumens*, which were not, and in that ſenſe not Believers. And all this is acknowledged by *Theodore Beza*, in his Eighth Epiſtle written to *Grindal* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when they were baptized Adults, and at the years of Underſtanding. But upon what account *Infantulus de fide compelletur*, a little Infant ſhould be interrogated, or have ſuch Queſtions put unto him; what Covenant can here be entred he knows not. What was the Arch-Biſhops return to him I have not yet met with. I ſhall at preſent only reply in the words of St. *Auſtin de Baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas, c. 23. Ideò cum alii pro iis reſpondent, ut impleatur erga eos celebratio Sacramenti, valeat utiq; ad eorum Conſecrationem, quia ipſi reſpondere non poſſunt.* Their Suſceptors or Undertakers anſwer for them, becauſe they cannot anſwer for themſelves; and upon ſuch their undertaking, the Sacrament becomes effectual unto them.

§. XV. AS Chriſtians, and with one Faith; ſo had they the ſame Laws and Rules for Obedience and Holy Living, in this did they Aſſociate and Confederate together. Of this we read an

an eminent inſtance, *Tertul. Apol. c.* 2. in the words of *Pliny* to *Trajan* the Emperor, *Nihil aliud ſe conſeriſſe quam Cœtus antelucanos---- ad confederandam Diſciplinam, Homicidium, Adulterium, Fraudem, Perfidiam & Cætera ſcelera Prohibentes.* They entred Compacts, and a State of Diſcipline againſt Murder, Adultery, Fraud, Perfidiouſneſs, and other Wickedneſſes. And which Indentment or Compact, upon what particular occaſion it was then undertook, the main deſign and purpoſe of it, was then, by all that were Baptized, and has been all along ſince anſwer'd in ſuch their Baptiſm. Another branch or inſtance of which Vow is this, *To forſake the Devil and all his Works, the Pomps and Vanities of the wicked World, and all the ſinful Luſts of the Fleſh, and to keep all God's Holy Commandments. Cum aquam ingreſſi renunciaſſe nos Diabolo, & Pompæ & Angelis ejus, conteſtamur, Tertul. De Spectaculis, l.* 4. and *De habitu Muliebri, c.* 2. *his ſunt Angeli quibus in lavacro renunciamus.* And, *De Coronâ Militis, c.* 3. *Aquam adituri ſub Antiſtitis manu conteſtamur nos renunciare Diabolo & Pompæ & Angelis ejus.* So St. *Cyprian, Ep.* 7. *Seculo renunciaveramus, cùm Baptizati fuimus.* So *Optatus, Interrogamus an renunciat Diabolo, Lib.* 5. *Cont. Parmen. Donatiſt.* And *Salvian* ſays the ſame, *Qua enim eſt in Baptiſmo Salutari Chriſtianorum prima Profeſſio? Qua ſc. niſi ſe renunciare Diabolo ac Pompis ejus ac ſpectaculis & operibus profitentur.----Quo modo O Chriſtiane poſt Baptiſmum ſequeris quæ opus Diaboli confiteris, De Gubernat. Dei, l.* 6. And all which is but the Baptiſmal Vow in La-

Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. Latine, with a ſevere check to thoſe who after their Baptiſm, and ſo ſolemn an Engagement to the contrary, are over-ruled by the Devil, and follow after the World's Pomps and Vanities, and ſinful Luſts of the Fleſh. And St. *Jerome*, *Ep. ad Paulam*, calls the Monaſtical Vow, *Secundum Baptiſma*, a Second Baptiſm; and 'tis that St. *Auſtin* cautions the Donatiſts, *Ne ſeculo verbis ſolis renunciant*, *l.* 5. *De Baptiſm. cont. Donatiſt.* that they renounce not the World in words only. Nor were the Chriſtians of old, their Body or Aſſociation, diſcernable and apart from the whole World in any thing more then in their good Life, their ſtricter and moſt heavenly Converſation.

§. XVI. THIS Union of Chriſtians as one Body and Aſſociation, is farther expreſſed by *Tertullian*, *Apol. Cap.* 39. *Edam nunc ipſe negotia factionis Chriſtianæ, Corpus ſumus de Conſcientia Religionis, & Diſciplinæ Unitate, & Spei fœdere, coimus in cœtum & Congregationem ut ad Deum quaſi manu factâ Precationes ambiamus Orantes: Hæc vis Deo grata eſt, Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro Miniſtris eorum & Poteſtatibus, pro ſtatu ſeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro morâ finis, cogimur ad Divinarum literarum Commemorationem; ſi quid præſentium rerum qualitas, aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoſcere, certe fidem Sanctis vocibus poſcimus, ſpem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, Diſciplinam Præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus denſamus: Ibidem etiam Exhortationes, caſtigationes, & cenſura Divina.* I will now declare the Offices of Chriſtianity, We are a Body in the Conſcience of Religion,

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In Unity of Diſcipline, and Covenant of Hope; we come together in one Company and Congregation, that making Prayers altogether and at once we may procure his Favour and Bleſſing; this force is grateful to God. We Pray alſo for the Emperors, for their Miniſters, and ſuch to whom their Power is deputed; for the State of the World; for the quiet and due accompliſhment of all things. The Divine Letters are urg'd upon us, either to Premoniſh us againſt what we may expect to come, or ſtabliſh in us what we have received; our Faith is nouriſhed, our Hope increaſed, our Confidence fixed, and Duties frequently inculcated upon us. There are Exhortations, Caſtigations, and the Divine Cenſure. And to the ſame purpoſe in his Book *De Anima*, Cap. 9. *Scripturæ leguntur, Pſalmi canuntur, Adlocutiones proferuntur, Petitiones delegantur*, the Scriptures are Read, Pſalms are Sung, Admonitions are made, and Petitions are ſent forth by us. *Deum Principem, ac rerum cunctarum Dominum adorant, obſequio venerabili invocare.* *Arnob. lib.* 1. *adv. Gentes*; and *lib.* 4. *Huic omnes ex more Proſternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus, ab hoc juſta & honeſta, & auditu ejus digna depoſcimus,——in quibus ſummus oratur Deus, Pax cunctis & venia poſtulatur Magiſtratibus, Exercitibus, Regibus, Familiaribus, Amicis, vitam adhuc degentibus, & reſolutis Corporum unctione, in quibus nihil aliud auditur niſi quod humanos faciat, niſi quod mites, verecundos, pudicos, caſtos*, &c. we there adoring, with obſequious reverence call upon God, the Chief and Lord of all things; before Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. fore him, as is the Custom, we are Prostrate, asking of him what is Just and Honest, and worthy his hearing; we Pray for Peace and Pardon to all in Autority, for the Armies, for Kings, for our Familiars and Friends, whether dead or alive; nor is any heard from us, but what makes us Humane, Meek, Modest, and Chast. And the same account we have in *Justin Martyr*, in his second Apology, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας τοῦ δόματος αἰτήσεως,—διὰ λόγου τιμῶντας καὶ ὕμνους πέμποντες, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς γεγονυίας, &c. Praying and sending up Hymns of Thanksgiving suitable to our Powers; for that he Created us, gives us Health, Plenty, fruitful Seasons, and will bestow upon us a blessed Resurrection. We there worship and adore God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, the Blessed Trinity; and so in the close of that Apology, τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, upon Sunday we meet together, κοινὴ εὐχὰς ποιούμενοι, in Common Prayers and Supplications for themselves, all Christians, all Mankind, giving one another the Holy Kiss, celebrating the Communion, giving thanks to the Creator of all things by Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, to which the People say *Amen*; reading the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets as the time will bear, the President or Bishop discoursing to them upon some one or more Portions of them, and against this it is he Cautions, that upon any Pets or assumed Anger, upon what differences may happen, they do not absent, and go apart, from the Communion in Prayers, ἡ κοινωνία τῆς εὐχῆς διατροφῆν. *Ep. ad Zenam & Serenum.* So also *Origen* in his Third and Fourth

Fourth Books against *Celsus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his Seventh *Stromaton*. *Eusebius*, *l.* 7. *c.* 9. *Eccl. Hist.* and *De Vitâ Constantini*, *l.* 4. *c.* 17, 18. And *Eccl. Hist. l.* 10. *c.* 3. *Concil. Laodicen. Can.* 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. and every one of them to the same Purpose. This indeed being the chief Office of the Body of Christ, the great End of the Christian Incorporation; thus to assemble and be one in the Common Services of God, its undoubted Right and Property; though not in every instance peculiar to it, and incommunicable, Thus to confess with their Mouth that Jesus is risen from the Dead, to assent to the Gospel by Faith, evidenced in an Holy and Innocent Conversation, attending the Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, the Common Prayers, Praises, Thanksgivings and Recognitions due to God Almighty, as Created, Preserved, and Redeemed by him; all of what order and rank soever thus joyning and uniting in Heart and Hand and Mouth, every Man taking and performing his part; Priest and People, saying that *Amen* mentioned in *Justin Martyr*, and after him by St. *Austin*, *Per tot gentes in quibus respondetur unâ penè Voce* Amen, *& Cantatur* Halelujah; That *Amen* which is answer'd, and *Halelujah* which is Sung with one almost Voice, throughout so many Nations, *Lib.* 2. *adv. Literas Petiliani Donatistæ*, *& super Gestis cum Emerito Episcopo.* So *Athanasius* in his Apology, ὁ διακωμῳδῶν τίνων ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἢ ὕμνον ἀναπέμπων ἢ λαὸν τὸ Ἀμὴν. How Decent and Holy is it to hear in the House built for Prayer, the People say *Amen*, συμφωνίας τῆς

Chap. 4. ναῖ, with one ſound and conſent there mentioned, *Carmen Chriſto quaſi Deo dicere Semet invicem*; ſaying a Hymn to Chriſt as God, in courſes with one another. As *Pliny*, *lib.* 10. *Ep.* 97. and is referr'd to by *Tertullian* in his Apology, ἀντιφώνων ἀλλήλοις, Singing back again to one another in St. *Baſil*, μεταξὺ σφῶν ἀντιχόμενοι, Praying betwixt one another, *Ep.* 63. *Ad Clericos Neocæſarienſis Eccleſiæ, in amoibeunis*, and alternate Reſponſes. The Prieſt *Parat mentes fratrum dicendo, ſurſum Corda, ut dum reſpondit Plebs, habemus ad Dominum.* As St, *Cyprian* upon the Lord's Prayer, preparing the Minds of his Brethren, ſaying, *Lift up your hearts*; and the People anſwering, *We lift them up to the Lord*; this the great and common conſtant Service of the Church of God. The uſual manner of old in the Performance of it; and an earlier Pattern we have yet, as to the Subſtance of it. So ſoon as we meet with a Church gathered, the Holy Ghoſt deſcended, and thoſe Thouſands Converted by St. *Peter*, Acts 7. he there opens to them the Scriptures, they receive the Word and are Baptized; they go on, and continue ſtedfaſt in the Apoſtles Doctrine, and Fellowſhip and Prayer, attend the Holy Communion, Praiſing God, Poetically extolling of him. And thus became *Peter* in the letter of it, a Rock, a firſt Stone, or principal Pillar in the Church, or People of God.

§. XVII. BUT then beſides their Publick Worſhip of God, did this Union, into one Body or Corporation farther expreſs, and oblige the Members, in their Duties and Services to

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one another, in the Supplies and Assistances of all its Members, whose either special Offices and Imployments in the Service and Support of the Church, Body, or Association, rendred uncapable of undergoing the Cares and Offices of the World for the providing themselves sustenance suitable to their Office and Quality in the Trades and Imployments of it for the Body of Christians, though a Collection and Incorporation for Heaven, yet is to remain its due time and abode upon Earth, and to subsist whilst on Earth, by the usual and lawful courses of it; it does not therefore immediately receive Food from Heaven, or else whose unavoidable Want and Poverty, by the unaccountable disposal of things, and the many Contingencies of this mutable state here, lays before them, in their Streets, and High-ways, in the rode to this *Jerusalem* also, as Objects of Pity and Commiseration, Relief and Charity; for their Saviour has told them, That *the Poor you must always have with you, and to them belongs the Kingdom of Heaven.* And this is to be done, and is the general Duty of the whole Body; and each Christian there in particular, not only by the tenure of the special Charter from God, and it is imply'd and made up and required in the Donation it self; but by the common course and Laws of things, no Body can subsist without it, it must run to Decay, Degeneracy and Contempt, either through want of Instruction, Order and Government on the one hand; or by Idleness, Destitution and Distress, on the other; and those weighty Reasons and Motives which engaged, Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. freely of their own choice, no outward force compelling, as in the Associations of the World, in order to Governance and Subsistency, to unite in God's Service; it then necessitates that such ways and means be used here, as in the sustaining other Societies, and this upon the same Consideration and Motive, as they believe it useful to be of such the Association, and in Communion with one another, especially where the force of the World enjoyns no other Provision, as it did not till the Government became Christian, and the World came in, to the Support of the Church, for which, our Saviour did and must, in reason, provide, upon failure; otherwise Religion can no longer subsist then as the civil Empire pleaseth.

§. XVIII. AND first this general Care always extended, and was made for such as labour'd among them in the Word and Doctrine, such as attended the Altar, and ministred in Holy Things, and this not only to the maintaining their Persons, but to the maintaining them in order to their Function, and consequently in supplying them with all Utensils, and whatsoever else was then thought necessary, for the due and more solemn Performance of the Worship of God, and the maintenance of his Service. This is that St. *Paul* so much Pleads for, and with so great earnestness and weight of Argument, 1 *Cor.* 9. 1, 2, 3, 4, *&c.* and tells them plainly, That if he be an Apostle, as he most certainly is to them, who are the Seal of his Apostleship in the Lord, then he hath a right to their Estates. *Have we not Power to eat and drink? Have we not*

Power

Power to lead about a Sister or Wife? and to forbear working? Who goeth to warfare at any time at his own Charges? Who planteth a Vineyard, and eateth not of the Fruit thereof? or who feedeth a Flock, and eateth not of the Fruit of the Flock? Do ye not know that they that minister about Holy things, live of the things of the Temple? and they which wait at the Altar, are Partakers with the Altar? So hath the Lord ordained that they which Preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel. And this the Church-men had not as Stipendiaries and Salary-men; but the Believers brought in of their Goods and laid them at the Apostles feet, which made a Common Stock or Bank, to be at their Prudence in the disposal, call'd *the Lord's Goods*; and in relation to this Common Stock or Bank in the hands of the Apostles, in which every Christian, upon occasion, had a right, it is said, That all things were common among these first Christians, in the Book of the *Acts*; for that no one had Property besides, cannot be believed, and the fault of *Ananias* and *Sapphira* was not, that they did not bring all they had, and lay it at the Apostles feet, reserved nothing of their Estate to themselves; but this was their guilt, they kept part back, and said it was the whole, their lying to the Holy Ghost, otherwise it was their own, and they might have reserved to themselves what of it they pleased. Now these common Gifts and common Purse, as it was first intrusted with the Apostles, so upon their failure did the trust descend and remain with the Bishops their Successors, who distributed to the Necessities Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. both of Churches and Church-men, their Officers and Attendants, as occasion required; a competent Portion whereof, was set apart, and reputed their own Personal Goods, which they had Power to give, by Will, to their Executors or Relations, as they had need and they saw cause. This is plain out of the Fortieth Canon of the Apostles, Ἐξὸν φανερὰ τὰ ἴδια τῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ φανερὰ τὰ κοινά, ἐπὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχη τὰ ἴδια τοῖς ἰδίοις, ἢ θέλοντος, ἵνα μὴ ὑποπέσωσιν αἱ οἰκίαι αὐτῦ βλάβαις καταλόγων, καὶ μὴ περιπέσωσιν αἱ ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ πραγμάτων, ἀφανιζόντων τὰ τῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἐν οἷς γονεῦσι καὶ τέκνοις καὶ οἰκέταις κακῶς ἀπολομένου, ἢ συγγενῶς, καὶ οἰκέταις, &c. The Goods of the Bishop are to be proper to himself, and manifestly distinct from those of the Church, and which are more peculiarly call'd *the Lord's Goods*. That the Bishop may have Power at his Death, to leave that part which is his own, to whom he please, and not under pretence of a title of Church Goods to have them entangled and lost; especially, if he have either a Wife or Children, or Kindred, or Houshold Servants.----These were not to be cut off and left in want by reason of the Church, and occasion Curses upon the Bishop when he is dead. And indeed, how else had the Churches their Endowments and Provisions Temporal, as Houses, Gardens, &c. before the days of *Constantine*, and which were by the Rules and Obligations of Christianity, as their Freehold, 'twas Sacriledge, the blackest Guilt, to invade them, and which *Constantine* only restored when preyed upon and spoiled by the Heathen Persecutors, as *Eusebius*, *Hist. Eccl. l.* 10. *c.* 5. and we have the famous Case of this Nature in *Paulus*

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Samoſetanus, who when depoſed for Hereſie, kept Poſſeſſion of his Church-Houſe, till *Aurelian* the Emperor, no Chriſtian, aſſiſted the Catholicks, and, by force, diſpoſſeſſed him; The heathen Power ſometimes conniving at theſe Donations of the Chriſtians, and took not advantage of the Forfeitures their Laws gave them, now and then countenancing them againſt Invaders; but never, by the Imperial Laws, giving a full Settlement and Confirmation of them. Chap. 4.

§. XIX. BUT then beſides this, another Portion was to be reſerved by the Apoſtles and Biſhops, for the Neceſſities of the Poor, and deſtitute People; for the Biſhops were not the Alms-Men themſelves, as they are now adays termed; but the Treaſurers and Truſtees, to receive and keep the like Proviſions, and diſpoſe them at their Prudence; thus the Goods were brought in and laid at the Apoſtles feet, *Acts* 4. 37. and the Complaint was made to the Apoſtles, when the Grecian Widows were thought to be neglected; and, who determined, that a new Order of Deacons ſhould be conſtituted, and appointed for this buſineſs, the better and more impartial looking after the Poor, *Acts* 6. and this continued courſe of Charity and Goodneſs is apparent in the ſucceeding Church-Practice. *Tertullian* tells us, they had *Quoddam arca genus*, a kind of Cheſt in which every Month, or when they will, or if they will, and if they can, every one puts in ſomething; and this to be expended not in Banquets, and Gluttony, but to ſuſtain, or bury ſuch as died in Want, Children deſti-

Chap. 4. tute of Parents, and the Maintenance of old Men, such as suffer'd Shipwrack, work'd in Metals, were banished into Islands, and such as were in Prison, in the Thirty ninth Chapter of his Apology. So also *Justin Martyr*, who was earlier a little than he, after the Holy Communion, τὰ ἐυπορῶντα, ὃ ἂν βούληται ἕκαστος. &c. Such as were rich and willing, offered every Man what he pleased, and it was deposited in the hand of the Bishop, for the Relief of Orphans and Widows; such as by Sickness or any other Accident were brought to want, if in Bonds or Strangers, and the care of all that were indigent in general was upon him. St. *Cyprian* in his Book *De Opere & Eleemosynis*, will not allow him that is rich and abounding, to keep the Lord's-Day at all, if he passes by the Corban, or Poor Man's Box, *Qui in Dominicum sine Sacrificio venit*, and comes into the Lord's House without a Sacrifice, tying them up more strictly to that of St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 16. 1, 2. *Now concerning the Collection for the Saints, as I have given order to the Churches of* Galatia, *even so do ye. Upon the first day of the Week, let every one of you lay up in store as God hath prospered him.* And 'tis the Injunction of the One and fortieth Canon of the Apostles, Παραινοῦμεν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων. ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἴδια αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν πάσαν διοικεῖν, καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ Πρεσβυτέρων καὶ Διακόνων ὑπηρετεῖσθαι — μεταλαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἰδίων (φησὶ Κύριος) ὡς τὰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῷ καὶ χρείας, καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀδελφῶν, ὡς καὶ μᾶλλον τρέπειν αὐτὸν ὑπηρετῶν. We Command that the Bishop have Power of the Goods of the Church,

Church, to assist by the Presbyters and Deacons such as are in want, and to care for his own Necessities, (if he have any) and for the Brethren that are sustain'd by Hospitality--that there be nothing wanting among any of them. And suitably in the Eighth Canon, *Conc.* 4. *Gen.* held at *Chalcedon*, Care is there taken, That if the Bishop be translated out of one See into another, that he carry nothing with him of the Goods of his former Church, ὅτου ἦν ὁ ἀυτὸς μαρτύριον, ἢ πτωχεῖον, ἢ ξενοδοχεῖον, whether of those belonged to the Martyrs, or the Hospitals, or the Entertainment of Strangers. Chap. 4.

§. XX. AND thus hath this Body or Association its Duties and Offices in general, and which every particular Member is concern'd in, no one to be excepted, as Occasion offers, and Circumstances permit. Now besides these, there are Powers and Offices distinct and appropriated by Christ, the Head and Fountain of what Power is devolved, to particular Members, such as never was design'd to be communicated in common and promiscuously, neither can they, without a ceasing of the Corporation, its ruine and dissolution; for if all the Body were the Head or the Eye, where were the Foot? it could not continue. No Association can stand and preserve it self, without special Officers and Governors, invested with a solitary Power and Jurisdiction, to keep and restrain every Member in those Bounds and Duties, in the Confinement to, and Performance of which, the Association subsists, all have their Stations and Services here; some after this manner, and some

Chap. 4. some after that, according to the measure of the Gift which is given, and every one in their own order. God is not the God of Confusion but of Peace, as in all the Churches of the Saints; a Power limited to Church-Officers only, such as were at first thereunto called, appointed, and invested by Christ in his own Person, or by his Succession. Nor may any Member in common, or barely as a Believer, take unto himself this Honor and Function; and the select Persons herein deputed, were either the Apostles, and Seventy, appointed by our Saviour in Person; or afterwards those Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers, *Eph.* 4. 11. with others then, as occasion deputed, according to the present reason of the Churches first Planting and Propagation, by those more immediate Descents of the Holy Ghost. And all which, with the reason and design of them ceasing, what Power was adjudged fit and useful to remain, was afterwards devolved, fixed, and limited to the three Orders of Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon; and so to continue, till the Power and the Kingdom is delivered up to the Father. These three Orders, I say, still remain upon the Rolls of Antiquity, in the κατάλογος τῆς ἱερατικῆς in the Hieratical Priestly Order and Catalogue, as 'tis in 15 and 18 Canons of the Apostles. And in others of those Canons, in opposition to the Readers, Psalmists, Door-keepers, all Ecclesiastical Officers, but not in the same Catalogue. So in St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Strom.* 6. καὶ ἐκκλησίαι πρεσβύτεροι, διάκονοι, ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, διάκονοι, these three of the Bishop, Presbyter,

Presbyter, and Deacon, are the whole Progression, and several Orders and Ascents in the Church-Ministry. These those ἑπτὰς βαθμοὺς ἱερωσύνης, all the degrees of the Priesthood; as *Zonaras* in *Can.* 8. *Apost. Omnes gradus Sacerdotales*; as 'tis in the same words in the last Canon of the first and second Council at *Constantinople*, and which, that Canon provides that every one must go through that becomes a Bishop. The Bishop Presbyter and Deacon are opposed to the Laity, and placed in the number τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ ἱερατικῶν of such as preside in the Church, *Can.* 1. *Conc. Antioch.* συλλειτουργοῖς ἐμοὶ θεοσεβέσι, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις, these are fellow-workers in the Ministry, as in the Council call'd against *Paulus Samosetanus*, *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l.* 7. *c.* 3. And again πρεσβύτεροι, διάκονοι, πρεσβύτερος, διάκονος in the Life of *Constantine*, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 46. ἱερεμένου θεσβέως, πρεσβύτερος, διάκονος, *Socrat. Eccl. Hist. l.* 1. *c.* 11. μεθεὶς δὲ ἐκ παιδὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐν βίβλοις μνείαν μιᾶς ἐπιθυμίαν φέρων τῶν θεσβέων, ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος, *Can.* 58. *Conc.* 6. *in Trullo.* None in the Order of Lay-men may deliver to themselves of the Divine Mysteries, or Administer in Holy things, the Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon being present, where the Publick Offices of the Church are again limited to these three. St. *Jerome* places them in *Superioribus ordinibus Ecclesiæ*, in the higher Order of the Church, *Comment. in Ep. ad. Tit. Cap.* 2. in the same Language runs the Imperial Laws, as are plain and obvious in the *Theodosian Codex*, especially with the Notes and Commentaries of the Learned *Jacob Gothfred*, Chap. 4

Chap. 4. *fred*, the Biſhop Presbyter and Deacon are the *Sacerdotalis aſſumptio*, one or all of them, 16. *Cod. Tit.* 5. *Lex.* 5. & 52. and are called *Primi*, the Firſt, in reſpect of the Readers, Door-keepers, &c. *ibid. Tit.* 2. *l.* 24. and as *Gothofred* explains it. And the ſame is again, *l.* 41. and he calls them *Primi Clerici* the firſt of the Clergy, *ibid. Tit.* 8. *l.* 13. and *Juſtinian* after him ſpeaks the ſame, *Novel.* 6. *c.* 1. and all this is expreſſed by our Judicious Mr. *Hooker*, and call'd the Power of Orders, Degrees of Order Eccleſiaſtical, in which there are three Degrees, Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, diſtinguiſhed from Services and Offices in the Church, as Exorciſts, Readers, &c. in his Preface to his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, at the end of the ſeventh Section, and in his Fifth Book, ſeventh and ninth Section.

§. XXI. THIS Power and Juriſdiction, though confined to theſe three Orders; yet is it not given to each alike, and in the ſame degree of Autority; whatever is in the Nature of the Church Prieſthood, is in one of them; but every one has not all that is in them, μὴ πολλοὶς βαθμοῖς μείζονα ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, there were degrees one above another in the Prieſthood, to the higheſt of which every one was not ſuffered to ariſe, in *Juſtinian*, *Novel.* 6. *Cap.* 6. our Saviour himſelf did not confer all Power alike upon all that he choſe for his ſpecial Service; nor did the Apoſtles, or their Succeſſors, πλέων, *hic dici videtur qui in Eccleſia ſublimiorem cæteris conſecutus gradum, ut Apoſtoli erant conſecuturi, & poſt eos Epiſcopi*, as *Grotius* in *Luca*, 22. 26. the Ruler or greateſt

greateſt there mentioned by our Saviour Chap. 4.
ſeems to be ſuch, who had gain'd a higher, more ſublime degree in the Church, ſuch as the Apoſtles were to have and after them the Biſhops. In the Church are thoſe προκοπαὶ above-mentioned in *Clemens Alexandrinus*; Progreſſions and Promotions from one Order to another, as, from Deacons to Presbyters, and from Presbyters to Biſhops: *Sacerdotes ſecundi in honore Eccleſiaſtici gradus. Hieronimus, Comment. in Jerem.* 13. the Presbyters are ſecond in the Honor of Eccleſiaſtical degrees. And ſo in *Ezek.* 48. and *Sacerdos primus ordo in Sophoniam*, c. 3. the Biſhop is the firſt Order. *Sacerdos* being a word applied to the Biſhop or Presbyter as occaſion; as ἱερατεῖον includes the whole of Church-Power, as is above-noted, and applied, as occaſion, to each of the degrees. *Optatus* in his firſt Book againſt the Donatiſts mentions, beſides Lay-men, which have no Power in the Church, or any one degree of the Prieſthood, *Tertium, Secundum Sacerdotium, & apices, Principeſq; omnium Epiſcopos*, the Third and Second Prieſthood, and the top and chief of both, the Biſhops. As *Euſebius* ſtill expreſſes the Miniſtry in general by θρόνος, as is already at large obſerv'd. So, his τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου, thoſe of the ſecond Throne or Order, are Presbyters, *Eccl. Hiſt. lib.* 10. *Cap.* 39. the Presbyter is *major Sacerdotio* then the Deacon, hath more of the Prieſthood, *Hieronimus ad Evagrium, Tom.* 3. *Presbyter Proximus gradu ab Epiſcopis, Presbyter ſecundi ordinis Sacerdos*, a Presbyter is next in degree to a Biſhop, a Prieſt of the Second Order, ſo

all

Chap. 4. all along in the Phraſe of the Imperial Laws; *Cod. Theodoſ.* 5. *Tit.* 3. *Cod.* 12. *Tit.* 1. *Lex.* 121. *Cod.* 16. *Tit.* 2. *l.* 7. *Tit.* 5. *l.* 9. *Conſtantine* the Holy Chriſtian Emperor writes to *Chreſtus* Biſhop of *Syracuſe*, that he would take with him to a certain Synod ἄνδρας τῶν δευτέρων τόπων, two of the ſecond Throne or Order, two Presbyters, *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib.* 10. *cap.* 5. in a word, this is the current voice and diſtribution of all Antiquity, as might be ſhew'd more largely, or, were it the deſign of this Diſcourſe, to treat of the Three Orders particularly, as the Biſhop, Presbyter and Deacon are *Primi Clerici*, the firſt Clergy, in reſpect of the Readers, Singers, *&c.* for the word *Clérus*, or Clergy, is applied to all Eccleſiaſtical Officers in general, as well Reader, *&c.* as Presbyter, *&c.* among the Ancient Writers, ſo among the *Primi Clerici*, thoſe Three which are firſt, *Summus Sacerdos qui eſt Epiſcopus*, the Biſhop is the Firſt there; as in *Tertullian de Baptiſmo*, *Cap.* 17. *his is Maximum Sacerdotium in Lactantius*, *Lib.* 4. *Sect. Ult. Sacerdotii Sublime faſtigium.* So *Cyprian*, *Ep.* 52. ἀλλὰ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις, μείζων τόπος, *Can.* 10. *Conc. Sardicenſ.* his Power is the greateſt and topmoſt, moſt full and comprehenſive of all, and all Power in Heaven and Earth, now abiding in the Church, and purely relating to Church Affairs, and the bringing Souls to Heaven, in the ordinary courſe and known appointments is it fixed, and ſo far limited, in the Perſon and Office of the Biſhop, by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, as that from, and only from, him, is this Power to be transferr'd

and

and transmitted, as is the Harvest and common Need, in the particular devolution and distribution of it; a great part of this, is still given by the Bishop, to the Presbyter, an Order or Station in the Church, for the Service of Souls, invested with a large share of the Priestly Power, at his Ordination or Deputation to it, but comes short of the whole, is limited to particular Instances, and much below that of a Bishop. *Presbyterorum ordinem Patres Ecclesia generare non valentem, per regenerationis lavacrum, Ecclesia filios, non Patres aut Doctores genuisse*, as *D. Blondel* himself in his Apology *pro Hieronimo*, *Pag.* 311. quotes *Epiphanius*, *Haref.* 75. 4. the Presbyter though not able to beget or constitute Fathers, or Bishops, or Doctors in the Church, can he yet by Baptism beget Sons, create to the Adoption of Children; he can Baptize, but he cannot give Power and enable others to do it, and which the Bishop can. And a share of this Power is also given to the Deacon, but a much less than that to the Presbyter, and yet is he more than a Lay-man; there is something ἱερατικῆς λειτουργίας, of the Priestly Function enstated on him, *Can.* 1. 2. *Conc. Ancyr.* ἢ ἔξεστιν τέλειν ἱερεῖα. *Can.* 10. *Conc. Neocesar.* he hath an Order there, *Concionatur in Populos, Diaconus gradus in Ecclesia, cui Obediendum, assurgamus Diacono*, he Preaches to the People; 'tis a Church degree, to whom Service and Respect is to be paid. As St. *Jerome Comment.* in *Ezek. c.* 48. in *Micah, c.* 7. a Person above all Men not to be suspected to give the Deacon more than his due, as will appear to whoso has read over

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that;

Chap. 4. that his ſmart Epiſtle to *Evagrius*, reproving the inſolency of ſome Deacons, that ſet themſelves above Presbyters. And indeed had they been deſign'd only to ſerve Tables, little reaſon can be given, why they had ſo Solemn an Ordination and Separation at their firſt Inſtitution, *Acts* 6. and ſo diſtinct are theſe Orders, and their Powers ſo peremptorily limited and confined, in the Intent, Prayer and whole Performance at their Ordination, "That 'tis equally an Uſurpation, "for a Deacon to undertake the Office of a "Presbyter, or a Presbyter the Office of a "Biſhop without a diſtinct Ordination, or a "farther Commiſſion granted; as for a Lay-"man, as ſuch to intrude into any one and "more of them without Ordination at all; "'tis in either or all of them, the Sin of *Uz-"zah* and the *Bethſhemites*, a Robbery and "Invaſion. 'Tis not my ſenſe alone, they are the words and determination of our great and profound Dr. *Thomas Jackſon*, in the ſecond Volume of his Works, *Cap.* 6. *p.* 377. according to the laſt Edition. I find two great Caſes upon Church Story, concerning the Ordinations made by *Iſchyras* and *Colluthus*; the former had no Orders at all, the other was only a Presbyter, and they were both null'd, and declared void alike; and thoſe ordained by the Presbyter, equally as by the Lay-man, were reduced to, and reputed in the Laick Order. So *Athanaſ. Apol. pag.* 732. *Ed. Pariſ. & Ibid. p.* 784. *& Socrates Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 1. *c.* 27.

§. XXII. THERE are ſome Objections which readily ariſe and preſent themſelves againſt this

Primacy;

Primacy of Biſhops in the Chriſtian Church, as thus aſſerted the firſt and immediate Subject of Church-Power, the chief Fountain and Head, next under Chriſt, from whence all inſtances of Church-Autority are devolved, and derived to particular Offices, and Members of it. I ſhall omit that Plea of thoſe who contend that the Presbyter is really equal with the Biſhop; that the Biſhop is not inveſted with a true, and diſtinct Power above him, and the whole Prieſthood, or Power of the Miniſtry, is in every Presbyter by his Orders *in Actu Primo* and habitually, radically and intrinſecally, (in which very words, their ſenſe is very ſtoutly ſtated in the late *Irenicum*, p. 197. 276.) only limited in the Execution, for preſent convenience; becauſe what is the ſenſe of Antiquity, and our particular Church in part, I have but juſt now declared, and who give it in the Negative, and the diſtinct Power of the Biſhop above the Presbyter is notorious; and I may have occaſion hereafter in this Diſcourſe to inſtance farther in the ſenſe of Antiquity about it, it falling again in the way. I ſhall only inſiſt upon what either the whole Church of God has allow'd and aſſented to and practiſed, giving and fixing a Precedency to certain Church-Officers beyond theſe of Biſhops, as Patriarchs, Exarchs, for ſome time to be ſure; but to Metropolitans, Primates, Arch-Biſhops, or whatever the Titles were, (into which an Enquiry is not now to be made) all frequent in Church-Story, and their Prerogative and Juriſdiction above and apart is there as frequent alſo; or elſe what Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. a great part of the visible Church, so numerous, as next to an Universal, have still, for some Hundreds of years together with great ostentation and clamor both of Argument and Autority, contended to be in the Pope or Bishop of *Rome* in particular, as Superior to, not only all other Bishops in Christendom, but even these Patriarchs, and all other Metropolitanes too be sure, and to this immediately enstated and invested by Christ in the Person of St. *Peter*, with a first and absolute Power, as Universal Governor and Bishop of the believing World, whence even all and every, even Bishop himself, must derive what Autority he has, or can duly receive, and legally execute, to whom each Metropolitan, and Patriarch is an Homager and Subject, in Dependency and Subordination unto, and all this inseparably annexed to St. *Peter*'s Chair, and to descend through all Ages, in the Succession, till time be no more, and to the restitution of all things. What was the sense of the Church as to the Nature, Reason and Designment of the former, and what the no Ground and Foundation of the latter, I shall endeavour to declare and evince, not in that extent the Subjects require; for that is the work of Volumes: But with that brevity seems requisite, to the clearing and better managery of this particular Discourse.

§. XXIII. AND first, as to the single Solitary Power residing in one Person, above and beyond that of a Bishop, whether Patriarch, Exarch, Metropolitan, Primate, Arch-Bishop, or whatever Title it went under, as it needs

not,

not, ſo would it be too long and excurſive now to enquire; as when the Name Patriarch came firſt into the Church; how it differs from that of a Metropolitan; when the change of Names, as to theſe two, or any other, and which Eccleſiaſtical Men diſcourſe. Certain it is, that the Power was there very early, and the Biſhops themſelves were under Canonical Obedience to their Primate; they were in ſome inſtances inferior to, governed and ruled by them, and as certain it is again, this their Prerogative and Preſidency flowed not from any thing conferr'd in their Orders; the Power given to a Biſhop, is the utmoſt, is or ever ſhall be, in that Holy Rite or Sacrament collated; nor is there any thing in Holy Orders beyond it. And when the Patriarch, Metropolitan, or Primate was conſtituted, or whoever that ὁ πρῶτος or *Primæ ſedis Epiſcopus* was, mentioned ſo often in the Council of *Carthage*, we do not read in the ancient Church Rituals, or any Practice apart from them, of any farther new or ſolemn Ordination that was uſed at their Enſtalment. There is no τελετουργία ἢ ἐυχῶν, ἢ τῆ ἁγίᾳ πνεύματος ἐπικλησις, none of thoſe ſolemn Services of Prayer and Invocation of the Spirit of God, as Ordination was performed with; and is ſo related by *Zonaras* in *Can.* 1. *Apoſt.* no impoſition of hands devolving, and collating a new real Power, and which is done at the Conſecration of a Biſhop, Primacies have been many times tranſlated, not only as to Places, and which Biſhopricks have been but as to Perſons, from one Perſon to another,

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Chap. 4. and that not by Depoſition, as when Criminal, (and which indeed cannot be call'd Tranſlation) a thing uſual in the Church by way of Diſcipline; but when the ſame Biſhop abides in his Chair, and his Epiſcopal Power with him, only the Primacy removed, and which could not be by any Power whatſoever, it would be equally Sacriledge, to depoſe a Primate or Metropolitan, as it is for a Biſhop to degrade himſelf into the Order of a Presbyter, *Can.* 29. *Conc. Chalced.* the Metropolitan has no more Power from his Orders than has the Biſhop; only the Metropolitan's Juriſdiction is larger, and under other Circumſtances. And therefore as we read of a twofold Eccleſiaſtical Audience in the Affairs of Religion, the one before ἰδιώτην ἐπίσκοπον, the Biſhop of the City, who himſelf is Judge. The other upon Appeals, before a Synod of Biſhops united under their Metropolitan; this latter is called μείζονα σύνοδον, a greater Conflux of Biſhops. The original Power is one and the ſame in both, only Circumſtances alter the courſe of Proceeding, it may be the Biſhops own concern, and ſo he not ſo fit to be the alone Judge. And which Proceedings of the Church, whoſo pleaſe may read more at large, and therein what ſenſe ſhe had between the Biſhop and his Primate, in the Comments of *Jacob Gothofred* upon the Sixteenth *Theodoſian Code*, *Tit.* 2. *l.* 23. And 'tis eaſily obſervable by ſuch as are Converſant in the Acts and Determinations of the Councils, and Biſhops of the Church, about the Subordination of its Hierarchy, that 'tis no where contended for, but in the ſenſe

ſenſe now mentioned, as the ſame Original Power enlarged; a Precedency of Power retained by the Apoſtles, over all the Churches of their own firſt Converſion and Planting, and particularly deputed by St. *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus* in *Epheſus* and *Crete*, and which is a Platform ſtill obliging, in general, and immutable, admitting the Church to continue in that ſenſe Catholick, *i. e.* not to be limited again to one Houſe or Congregation, or even City, and which may eaſily be granted, where the Church under the like Circumſtances is to be governed; and that it did actually continue ſo, all along downward. 'Tis as certain, there was a Prerogative in thoſe Churches in the Sixth Council of *Nice*, whether Patriarchical or Metropolitical only the deſign of this Diſcourſe does not now exact an enquiry; and ſo *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 23. there giving an account of the Convention of ſeveral Synods of Biſhops in their reſpective Diſtricts, about the keeping of *Eaſter*, (and which was earlier, than the Council of *Nice*) as of *Paleſtine*, *Rome*, &c. Tells us alſo how every Epiſtle ran in the Name of their particular Governor or Head; as *Theophilus* of *Caſarea*, *Narciſſus* of *Hieruſalem*, *Victor* of *Rome*, *Irenæus* of *France*, and *Palmas* of *Pontus*, who as ἀρχαιότατοι προεστῶτες, did preſide as the moſt ancient Biſhop of the Dioceſs; but as to the particular Seats of this Power, and in which theſe Metropolitans did reſide, is not the thing any farther worth the conſidering, then as the certainty of the Power, as always actually in Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. the Church, is thereby made evidently known unto us, and *Palmas* might have the Prerogative in that particular Synod, whether for his Age, or whatever else accidental Motive, though not *Amastris* his Episcopal See; but *Heraclea*, was the constant Metropolis of *Pontus*, as *Vallesius* there notes unto us; the assignment of Places and of Persons, Judicatures, and Primates, depends purely upon occasion, and the present Circumstance, and have been still appropriated and fixed, either at the Discretion of the Clergy themselves, and by the Laws and Canons Ecclesiastical; and suitably the first and famous Council at *Nicea*, in her sixth and seventh Canons confirms and settles those four first and known Primacies of *Alexandria*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Ælia* or *Jerusalem*; as what before was received and submitted to, in the ancient Practice and Usages of the Church, and for which, as not having any antecedent right, but as bottom'd alone on the Church Sanction and Reception, *Peter de Marca* contends, *De Concord. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. and the Confirmation were by Canon were impertinent, was the Right fixed antecedently, inseparable and immutable; So also the general Council at *Constantinople*, *Can.* 2. appoints that no Bishop goes beyond the Bounds of his Diocese, in his Ordinations or other Administrations, *&c.* or else this was done at the Discretion and Pleasure of the Empire, when become Christian, and that either by establishing in Law, what the Church had preassigned, as to those four great Churches just now mentioned, *Novel* 135. or else by translating

ſtating the See, as Reaſons and Motives appeared, and were preſſing. Thus *Juſtinianea Prima*, a City in *Pannonia Secunda*, and after call'd *Bulgaria*, was made a Metropolitan by *Juſtinian* the Emperor, inveſted with all the Priviledges, Pre-eminences and Juriſdictions in ſuch the Provinces ſubjected to it, as had old *Rome*; becauſe it was the Place and City of the Emperor's Birth, and is therefore reckoned among thoſe Churches which are αὐτοκέφαλοι, govern themſelves and are Independent, by *Balſamon* in *Can.* 2. *Conſtantinop.* all which Privileges did once belong to *Firmium* a City in *Illiricum*, till the Civil Government remov'd to *Theſſalonica*, upon the inrode made by *Attila*, King of the *Huns*, and the Biſhop there upon pretence of the chief ſeat of Government, had it ſettled on him, and ſo remained till this occaſional removal by *Juſtinian*, as is to be ſeen, in the Preface to his 11. *Novel*, and *Nov.* 131. *cap.* 4. And *Theodoſius* Tranſlated the Primacy from *Antioch* to *Laodicea*, becauſe the People of *Antioch* in a Sedition overthrew and offer'd farther violence and contumely to the Statue of *Flaccilla* his Empreſs. As *Theodorit Eccl. Hiſt. lib.* 5 *c.* 20. ſo that 'tis plain what firſt fixed, and again removed, theſe Primacies, though for the moſt part they ſtill went along with the Civil Government, and the chief Seats of Judicatures, and the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Government was in the ſame place; the both Canons of the Church and Laws of the State having reſpect thereunto. Hence the greatneſs and tranſcendency of *Rome* in particular, *Cui propter Potentiorem* Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. *Principalitatem necesse est omnem Ecclesiam convenire*; there was a Necessity that every Church went thither as the more Potent Principality, as *Irenaus*, *l.* 3. *Cont. Heres. cap.* 3. and to the same purpose St. *Cyprian* after him, *Pro Magnitudine sua debet* Roma Carthaginem *precedere*; That *Rome* ought to have the Precedency of *Carthage* by reason of its greatness, *Ep.* 49. and upon this occasion, first contending which should be the greatest City; great Controversies once arose betwixt the Bishops of *Rome* and *Ravennas*, as we are told by *Dionysius Gothofred*, in his Comments on the Eleventh *Novel*; and whose Pleas of Autority and Jurisdiction, not only over the Bishop of *Ravennas*, but all the Bishops of the Christian World, as the Universal Bishop of Christendom, we are now to enquire into.

§ XXIV. WHAT is Pretended by those of the *Roman* Faith in the maintenance of this their universal Primacy, seems to come short of that Evidence is required to settle an Article of Faith, to fix an Order in the Church, a continued Power and Successive Constitution, immutable, and for ever. And all that can with any ground be challenged for the Bishop of *Rome*, as what was in the best Ages of the Church, will hardly amount to any more than an occasional particular Presidency, or first Chair, and which others have sometimes had, no singular, solitary Special Power connate and inhering; but only such as by occasion of Business and particular Emergencies interposing, and of meerly Ecclesiastical humane assignation; for them to claim

claim and urge it, as the Succeſſors of St. *Peter*, ſeems very begging, and places more in the Concluſion, than appears in the Premiſes; for it is no where evident, either from St. *Peter*'s Commiſſion in general, or from any other ſpecial Donation apart or at other times made by our Saviour, that this particular Power beyond and above the other Apoſtles was deputed and made over unto him. There appears no difference in their Call in general, either in Words or Offices, when firſt leaving all, and enjoyn'd to follow him. Nor was it otherwiſe in their after-Influences and Inſtructions, they were all alike breathed upon at once, receiv'd the ſame Autority, to retain and remit Sins; the Holy Ghoſt fell equally upon them all at once at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*; there univerſally and viſibly on their Heads in the face of all Nations; and each one went out a *Theopneuſt*, Independent and ſelf-autoritative, to Preach, and conſtitute Churches; they were only liable to be adviſed, and directed and reprov'd by one another, if occaſion; *Unde Petrus à ſuo poſteriori Apoſtolo ſalubri admonitione correctus*; as St. *Auſtin lib.* 3. *Cont. Gaudentium*, and St. *Peter* had a great ſhare of the latter. Nor was there any one of them more notoriouſly withſtood to the face, than he was in the Buſineſs of the Gentiles. Cardinal *Bellarmine* ſolves all indeed, would a ſingle appoſite reply and diſtinction do it, a nicer, exact ſtating the Queſtion ſerve the turn, and in which his accuracy muſt always be allowed. Nor is there any Man in ſuch caſes that goes beyond him. *Caeteros* Chap. 4.

Apo-

Chap. 4. *Apoſtolos parem cum Petro poteſtatem accepiſſe, ſed ut legati extraordinarii, Petrus ut Ordinarius, & Caput Succeſſionis, Controverſ. 3. Gen. de Rom. Pontif. Tom. 1. l. 1. c. 13.* The reſt of the Apoſtles received equal Power with *Peter*, but as Embaſſadors Extraordinary; *Peter* as Ordinary, and the Head of the Succeſſion; theirs was only for the preſent Service, during their Natural lifes, or till recall'd by that ſame Autority that they received it from, his to abide with his Perſon, and deſcend in the Succeſſion, and from whence each influence and ſupply, each inſtance of Church-Autority is to be derived throughout all Ages for evermore. So that St. *Peter*'s Power was more than the reſt in regard only to the abode and during uſe of it. But the bottom here is altogether ſandy; nor does he produce any thing that is Evidence for ſuch the Privilege either to his Perſon or Succeſſion. *Thou art Peter, upon this Rock will I build my Church.* And the Confeſſion preceding, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God*, feed my Sheep. His *firſt Call*, if he had it; and his being left to Poſterity with his Name in the head of them, cannot any one, or all of them, imply any thing like it, to a rational conſidering Perſon. Theſe were occurring Diſcourſes, particular Applications, and accidental; ſuch as in courſe muſt be ſuppoſed to fall in and to be, where a conſtant Converſe, and ſo known a Deſign as was then on foot amongſt them; and the Contingencies of the World cannot be otherwiſe conceived of, or adjuſted. That ſame is now the Confeſſion of every Chriſtian, and

to

to be ſure, was then of all the Apoſtles, at leaſt e're their Commiſſions were fully delivered, and their Power deputed unto them. The ſecond Call might be as full and extenſive as the firſt, nor does the Precedency imply in its Nature any thing otherwiſe. One branch or inſtance of the Church was firſt founded on St. *Peter*'s perſonal Preaching, and other Adminiſtrations and Church-Offices, in which he officiated, *Acts* 2. and the other Apoſtles in the ſame Way and Duties and Power did found and conſtitute others. St. *Paul* had his Apoſtleſhip equally evidenced, nor were its ſeals leſs notorious, our Saviour might as particularly urge the Care of the Church to others, as he did to St. *Peter*, and we ought to believe nothing leſs then that he did; that they all ſee to their Duty, in feeding and governing of it. He might have a differing Confidence in one above another, as we are ſure his love was unequal; and that ſomething might happen extraordinary in Diſcourſe by Acknowledgment and Approbation, all this may eaſily be allowed; but that a Commiſſion and Power more laſting, a ſpecial Headſhip and Charge is hereby granted and ſeated for ever, is hence to be inferr'd, and in conſequence follows, none that underſtands a Syllogiſm, or enquires into but obvious Inferences, can ſubmit unto it. And therefore *Eſtius* abates a little in his Treatiſe on the Sentences, *Lib.* 4. *Diſt.* 47. *Sect.* 9. and ſays, *Verè eſt Univerſalis Epiſcopus*, &c. that the Biſhop of *Rome* is truly an Univerſal Biſhop, if he be call'd Univerſal Biſhop who has the care of the whole Church; but if you underſtand Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. ſtand a Univerſal Biſhop, *Qui ſolus omnium Provinciarum & Civitatum Epiſcopus ſit, ſic ut alii non Epiſcopi ſint, ſed unius Epiſcopi, ſeu Pontificis, ſunt Vicarii*; who is Biſhop alone of all Provinces and Cities, ſo as others are not Biſhops, but Vicars of this one Biſhop, or High Prieſt; then it is plainly to be denied, that the Biſhop of *Rome* is an Univerſal Biſhop. He ſeems to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Power of giving of Holy Orders, and the Power of governing the Church; the former he will not allow the Biſhop of *Rome* to be ſingular in, and apart from other Biſhops, *Caput Succeſſionis*, as *Bellarmine* will have him to be, the alone Head and Fountain of Prieſtly Succeſſion; as if illegal, and wanting when not derived from his Chair; the latter he peremptorily affixes upon him, and believes him alone inveſted with a Power Univerſal, for the governing the Church of Chriſt, all Chriſtian Biſhops by whomſoever Conſecrated, and his Arm is to rule them, whoſeſoever's Hands were laid upon them; and this ſolitary, and by himſelf; nor is any one a ſharer with, or out of ſubjection to him. To which I ſhall reply, that though the diſtinction in it ſelf, will with very much difficulty be admitted of, and the ordaining and governing Parts will be very rarely found aſunder. Nor do I believe there can be an inſtance given of but one Biſhop, who at his Conſecration had the Power of governing left out of the Office in which that other of Ordination together with this were not deſign'd at once and tranſmitted, though the Objects have many times been changed,

changed, either enlarged or limited, as they Chap. 4.
have been both ſuſpended altogether; yet, allowing the diſtinction, it may poſſibly do *Eſtius* this preſent Kindneſs, lookt upon as a Diſputant, and oppreſſed with an Argument, giving him the opportunity of ſomething like an Anſwer, and with ſome ſhew he may eſcape that ſeverity of words, and blacker cenſure he there acknowledges to be paſſed by St. *Gregory*, in ſeveral Occaſional Epiſtles, againſt whomſoever it is ſhall ſtyle himſelf Univerſal Biſhop, or Biſhop of all Biſhops. That the very Name is *Prophane, Proud, Sacrilegious, Diabolical, a Name of Blaſphemy, and the forerunner of Antichriſt*; and all this *Eſtius* there tells us was occaſion'd from this Holy Father, by reaſon of the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*'s Ambition in that Nature; declaring, that as the Emperor did alone hold the Empire, and all Inferior Governors were ſent by him, and held of him the Head, and not to do it was Uſurpation and Treaſon; ſo did he alone hold the Epiſcopacy, and all Holy Orders were to deſcend and flow from him, and to receive them, and not from him, was to climb up the wrong way, and by intruſion come in. But then, what more right he has on his ſide, or better Autority than *Bellarmine* has on his; or how he can prove a ſolitary peculiar Care and Government demandated to, and in its ſpecial Conſtitution, ſettled on St. *Peter*, and by his Succeſſion at *Rome*, or which way ſoever elſe it was, over the Univerſal Church or whole Goſpel-Prieſthood, ſo as to conſtitute him and them its immutable perpetual Head

Chap. 4. Head to Govern, though not to Ordain them; and which was not in the rest of the Apostles Persons, to be sure not in their Succession; this does not readily appear, the Scriptures are favourers of both alike, and indeed give to neither any bottom at all. Nor does any such thing appear in the best Antiquity, or succeeding Matter of Fact in his behalf; no ill Argument of ever a Divine Right, were it on their side.

§. XXV. THE first instance we have from the Ancients of this Pretended Power, is in *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, in the year One Hundred ninety four, who threatned Excommunication against the *Asiaticks*, because they complied not with him in the Observation of *Easter*. The Succession of the Bishops of *Rome* is all along delivered down in Church-History, from the beginning to this day, each Bishop particularized, under the Title of *Romanæ Urbis Episcopus*, *Antistes*, &c. there's no one note of Singularity affixed unto him, and this is the first time we meet with any thing like a Superiority there practised, and at the most he is but ranked with the other Metropolitans. Now whether this was attempted by *Victor*, purely out of Zeal for an Apostolical Custom, and we have many examples of Eminent Bishops that have intermeddled without their own Districts; or whether as supposing himself really invested with a Power for Inspection and Animadversion upon all other Christian Bishops; certain it is, this his Power was disown'd and rejected, by an eminent Branch of the Church Catholick, and as eminent Bishops

as any She had; the Autority and Practice of St. *John* is set up and Pleaded against that of St. *Peter*, as what every way balances; nor doth it any way submit unto it. And *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, and none of the *Quartodecimane*, but one who comply'd with *Victor* in the Observation of *Easter*, yet asserts the *Asiaticks* αὐτονομία and Self-Autority; nor is any Foreign Power to over-rule and controle them, or the Peace of the Church to be broken on such occasions, all which is to be seen in *Eusebius*, *Hist. Eccl. l.* 5. *c.* 23, 24. and if we descend some time lower, we shall not find any thing really more advantageous to him. *Constantine* the Great, Complements indeed *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, and tells him he is worthy of the *Episcopale*, or Government of the whole Church, *De Vita Constant. apud Euseb. l.* 9. *c.* 6. but that such an extent of Power was then in the Person of any one Bishop, is no where said; nor is there any probability to suppose it. 'Tis true, that some Privileges have belong'd to the Bishop of *Rome*, and which have been claimed as their due in good times; *Julius* is very angry with the Clergy of *Antioch*, that they did not call him to a Synod, and urges it as νόμον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν, a Law of the Church; that whatsoever is done without the Bishop of *Rome* is to be void. *Sozom. Eccl. Hist. l.* 3. *c.* 10. and in an Epistle of his to some, whom he accuses of Contention, and want of Charity, not consulting the Peace of the Church, in the cause of *Athanasius*, he farther adds, Are you ignorant that this is the Custom, that we are first to be Chap. 4.

wrote

Chap. 4. wrote to, that what is just may hence be defined? *Inter. Athanas. Opera, Tom.* 1. *Ed. Paris. Pag.* 753. But then whatever this Privilege was, that it did not arise from any Connatural Right to his See; but Ecclesiastical Canon, is most plain out of *Socrates* his Church History, *l.* 2. *c.* 8. ἐκ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος ἐπιδείκνυται, *&c.* and he may not have so much, for what *Valesius* in his Annotations there can produce for it. Which is the alone Autority of *Ferrandus* that is Christian, & *Ammianus Marcellinus* an Heathen, an Historian that concerns himself as little with Christianity and Church Affairs, as any one can be supposed to have done that attempted an History of the Times, in which so much of the Church concerns, its Power, and Autority was Transacted; as in the days of *Constantius* and *Julian*, and whose times make up the best part of his Story. The latter he studiously affects to represent to the World with what advantages he can both living and dying. And for the Christian Religion, he does not, I am confident, so much as name it Twenty times in all his Books, and then accidentally, and very slightly; and the greatest advantage that he gives us, is, we have his Testimony, that such a Sect call'd Christians was then in the World; and for that particular passage quoted by *Valesius*, it makes, if any thing, against himself; for he tells us, That when *Constantius* the Emperor, who is known to be *Athanasius* his great and mortal Enemy, and mov'd every stone to ruine him, had procur'd the Sentence of a Synod against him [*licet Sciret impletam*] and

which

which he knew was ſufficient and cogent of it ſelf, yet he endeavour'd all he could, thereby to render him lower, and more contemptible, to have it corroborated and confirm'd by that Autority, *Quâ potiuntur Æterna Urbis Epiſcopi*, which the Biſhops of the *Eternal City*, or of *Rome* did enjoy; which Autority what it was, is ſtill in the dark for him, there's no mention of it in any one Degree; and 'tis moſtly agreeable that he endeavour'd it, as the more great and popular Biſhops of the World, by reaſon of that *Urbs æterna* (as the City of *Rome*, for its Pompous Magnificence is all along through that Hiſtory call'd) that eminent City, the ſeat of their Reſidence, *Lib.* 15. *Pag.* 75,76. *Ed. Lugdun.* in *Duodecimo*; nor does it from this whole Hiſtory appear, that there was then, as not any diſtinct Power, ſo nor any but Title affixed to the Biſhops of *Rome*, which other Chriſtian Biſhops had not. The Biſhops in general are called *Chriſtiana legis Antiſtites*, and *Liberius* of *Rome* has but the ſame Title, or that of *Epiſcopus Romanus*, and *Urbis æterna Epiſcopi*, is what the whole Succeſſion is call'd by, *Ibid. ſuprà. Et lib.* 20. *Pag.* 261. *lib.* 22. *p.* 329. Chap. 4.

AND now the whole of the Matter is driven into this one Point or narrower room, what the Power and Extent of this Church-Law or Canon Eccleſiaſtical was; in what ſenſe it was impoſed, own'd, and receiv'd in the Church; If univerſally and what was deſign'd for all Chriſtendom, and obliging, let them produce the Rule, it is not to be found in any thing yet we have conſider'd, §. XXVI.

Chap. 4. and then reconcile it with the general Practice of the Church, which appears another thing; and to enlarge this Power, whatever that above mentioned is, as claim'd by the Bishop of *Rome*, beyond a limited Exarchy or Primacy, or that it any ways reaches to *Antioch*, is to go beyond the whole Story Ecclesiastical, in any tolerable Age of it. 'Tis to go beside the Acts of every General Council upon every occasion, and all the Imperial Courses and Proceedings in point of Jurisdiction, when the state came into the Church, engaged for its Governance and Jurisdiction, and turn'd their Canons into Laws. There is nothing in any one Council, whether General or Topical, that either refers to, determines actually, or but implies any such thing, unless what was foysted into the Canons of the first Council of *Nice*, and recommended to the Council of *Carthage*, for an Approbation, with the rest of those Canons, by *Faustinus* an *Italian* Bishop and Legate of *Rome*, be since made Canonical. Sure we are, it was then detected and exploded for a Cheat by the Holy Bishops of that Council, and who there and then disown'd the Superior Universal Power in the Bishop of *Rome*; all which with the several Circumstances, is to be seen in the opening of the Synod. The See of *Rome* is still represented as but equal, and in the same rank with the other Four great Churches of Christendom; and its Bishop neither Presides in the Councils, nor Over-rules in the Definitions of Christendom; nor is the Autority any ways defective upon his absence, or if convented with-

without his Licenſe, than upon the abſence of, or when not licenſed by, any other Biſhop. There is not an Inſtance of any one Reference or Appeal in Church-Affairs, but ſtill the either Patriarch, Exarch, Metropolitan, Primate, or Private Biſhop is to accommodate and rectifie all, as the alone Judges and Determiners, under a Synod of Biſhops, or a Council; and if new Canons be wanting, 'tis the Imperial Direction that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and the Convention of Prieſts be convened to conſider of, and to make them, *Cod. Juſtin. l.* 1. *Tit.* 2. 6. *Et Cod. Theodoſ.* 16. *l.* 45. *Tit.* 2. As for that of the Council of *Sardica*, *Can.* 3. 4. and which ſeems to favour the Biſhop of *Rome*, in the right of hearing and adjuſting Foreign Cauſes, not to make any Reflexions on the Synod it ſelf, whatſoever it is, 'tis bottomed neither on Scriptures, nor ancient Tradition or Cuſtom; but ſeems in particular Caſes to be allow'd him for the honour of St. *Peter*; nor can we believe it could run againſt the different Determinations of general Councils; (if ſo 'tis to be of no Autority) particularly the firſt of *Nicea*, conſidering alſo that *Hoſius* was Preſident both at *Nice* and here. I ſhall add, it cannot be conceiv'd to run againſt it ſelf, whoſe Tenth Canon places the top and uppermoſt of all Church-Power in the Biſhop, ἀλλὰ ἐπισκόπου, μᾶλλον τιμὴ, and which is not conſiſtent with a Superior Order in the Church, fixed and immutable, whether as to Juriſdiction and Ordination, or Government only. As *Bellarmine* and *Eſtius* are not agreed, and thoſe ſeveral Exempts we have an account

Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. of in Church Story, αὐτοκέφαλοι, and govern'd within themselves; as *Cyprus*, *Bulgaria*, *Iberia*, *Anglia*, whatever they relate to; and so called in respect of whether Patriarchacies, Exarchies, or this pretended Monarchy Universal, or howsoever they came so to be, they are Evidence sufficient, against this claim of *Rome*, and that every Church is not therefore Schismatical because disowning a dependency upon her, especially if we reflect, how strongly these Privileges are contended for in the Eighth Canon of the Council of *Ephesus*, occasion'd by some Usurpations attempted upon *Cyprus* in particular, and 'tis there made Law, that no inrode be made upon them. And that which is farther considerable is, that among all the Orders and Directions issued out to Church-men by the Empire, for the executing the Canons, and preserving the Discipline of the Church, the Persons in Charge are the Bishops, Metropolitan, or Patriarch; the Bishop under the Metropolitan, the Metropolitan under the Patriarch, and the Patriarch is always last and uppermost; and 'tis very strange to reflect, that if there was an Order above these, a Power Universal, residing in any one Person, with a care over all the Churches in Christendom, so setled by Laws Ecclesiastical, and Superior to all the afore-mentioned Orders, in Jurisdiction and Government, and this Person and Power should still be overlook't, and disregarded, no one Direction and Application made unto him, in the Affairs so immediately his; of his Charge and Inspection, and thus too in the days of *Justinian*,

nian, eſpecially ſince whatever was done by the Empire was in Proſecution of what was Church-Law and Canon before, according to the Appointments and Deciſions of it. And that this is all ſo, 'tis moſt manifeſt in our Church Story, Acts of Councils, and particularly the Proceedings Imperial, in the two Codes, and the Novels. *Vid. Cod. Juſtinian. lib.* 1. *Tit.* 3. 43. 2. *Novel.* 5. *Epilog. Novel.* 6. *Cap.* 3. *Epilog. & alibi ſæpius.* Not that the Empire was ſhye, in giving the See of *Rome* any Power or Title was its due, as it muſt be acknowledg'd very great things were own'd, and attributed as hers, in thoſe days of the Church. *Juſtinian* writing to *John* Patriarch of Old *Rome*, as he there ſtiles him and his See, *Novel.* 9. ſays enough of the See it ſelf, *Sortita eſt ut Originem legum, ita & ſummi Pontificatûs apicem, nemo eſt qui dubitet.* And he goes on and calls *Rome*, *Patriam Legum, Fontem Sacerdotii, veneranda Sedes ſummi Apoſtoli Petri.* She is the venerable Seat of the chief Apoſtle St. *Peter*, the top of the Pontificate, the Mother of Laws, and Fountain of the Prieſthood. By all which, thus much is only imply'd, That Eminent and Renowned was that See at that time, great and huge her Care and Service in the Church of God; ſomething peculiar was effected, but that the Original Power and Autority was ſpecial alſo, and by which ſhe acted, none other equalling of her, this cannot be granted. The Applications and Inſtructions for Government had then in courſe been accordingly, which we have obſerved was to none higher than the Patriarch. And let but *Juſtinian* Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. explain himself, as 'tis all the reason in the world he should have leave so to do, and all will be plain and easie. *Papæ veteris* Romæ *est Caput omnium Sacerdotum Dei, vel eò maximè, quod quoties in iis locis hæretici pullularunt, & Sententiâ & rectò judicio illius Sedis coerciti sunt, Cod. l.* 1. *Tit.* 1. 7. The Pope of Old *Rome* is the Head of all the Priests of God, upon this account especially, that in those Places, or within his Districts, Heresies did spring up, and by the Sentence and right Judgment of that Venerable Seat they were Suppressed: meaning he was more expedite and happy, strenuous and successful than other Bishops in such those like Undertakings. Otherwise *Peter* of *Alexandria*, as well as *Damasus* of *Rome*, are proposed as Leaders and Examples of the Catholick Faith, in that very Code & Title. And the Four first General Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, &c. are the Conviction of Hereticks, and such reputed Hereticks that refuse Communion, not with the Bishop of *Rome*, but with *Procerius* of *Alexandria*, *Tit.* 5. *Ibid.* 8. 3. And so 'tis again, *Cod. Theodos.* 16. *Tit.* 1. *l.* 16. and this very often elsewhere, and these very Complements, or rather due Characters, we have here given to the Bishop of *Rome*, we find given also to much privater Bishops on the like Occasions, for their particular learning Piety, and Service in the Church. So *Acholius* is called by St. *Ambrose murus fidei.* And *Gregory Nazianzen*, calls St. *Basil*, Τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἔρεισμα, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυκα, καὶ παράκλητον τῆς ἀληθείας, and which are produced by *Jacob Gothofred* in his Comments on the fore-mentioned

tioned place; and no Inferences of a ſolitary appropriate Power and Juriſdiction was ever thence inferr'd or but attempted. But this is the uſual proceeding with the Romaniſt Zelot, from ſome one or more occaſional Character, Power, Conceſſion, or particular Priviledge; devolved, granted and affixed on the Biſhop of *Rome*, to deduce general Rules, and manage them to a Perpetuation; give them in charge as ſtanding marks, and Laws immutable excluſive to all others. What if *Athanaſius* did Appeal to *Rome* in his Cauſe? was it that none elſe could equally hear, and legally determine it? He fled thither perhaps, as *Sozomen* tells us his Succeſſor *Peter* did; becauſe of the ſame Faith with him, *Lib.* 2. *Hiſt. Eccl. cap.* 22. or rather becauſe his Vogue and Autority was more in the World, than that of *Eugubium*; the far abler to Protect and give Autority to his Sentence given for him, as no one in *England* but would fix upon *Canterbury*, rather than *Landaffe*, had he the like occaſion. Beſides, each Biſhop, as ſuch, has the Care of the Univerſal Church committed unto him; 'tis given in his Orders. And ſince the ſeveral Diſtricts by after Laws, particular Biſhops have oft interpoſed, and intermedled, by their Care for ſome Churches and Proceedings foreign to their particular Exarchies, or Biſhopricks; and 'tis recorded as their true Zeal and Merit, of which we have abundance of inſtances given us by *Spalatenſis*, *De Repub. Eccl. l.* 2. *c.* 7. *Sect.* 6, 7, 8, 9, *&c.* and which might be the Motive in the caſe of Holy *Athanaſius*. The Council of *Sardica* Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. gives ſomething to *Rome* for the honor of St. *Peter*. And how the *Cyprians* have gain'd much for the honor of St. *Barnabas*, becauſe his Reliques were found in their Iſland, with the Goſpel of St. *Matthew* upon his Breaſt, fairly written with his own hand, we are informed *Lib.* 2. *Tripart. Hiſt. Eccl. Theodori Lectoris*, ſet forth by *Valleſius* at the end of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories. Their Metropolis thereby became free and independent, as much as *Rome* it ſelf, not ſubject to *Antioch* as formerly. Peter *upon whom by the favour of our Lord the Church is founded.* This is the uſual ſaying of St. *Cyprian*, Peter, James, *and* John *are the Pillars of the Church, and upon them is the Foundation of the Church laid*; So St. *Jerome* Comment. in *Galat. Cap.* 2. with more to the ſame purpoſe; and any one that is but a little skill'd in St. *Cyprian*, and the Church-Affairs by him tranſacted, will not eaſily believe that he reſolved his Faith into the Biſhop of *Rome*, his own Opinion together with them of *Carthage*, where he was Arch-Biſhop about Rebaptization, are too notorious Evidences to the contrary; and no one gives to St. *Peter* and his Succeſſion more glorious Epithetes than he all along does. And that the πρεσβεια or Privileges attributed to *Rome*, and in which *Conſtantinople* is to be ſecond, *Can.* 3. *Conc. Gen. Conſtantinop.* are not of real Power, but only of Place and Honorary, is plain from the 36 *Can. Conc. in Trullo.* For the ſame Privilege *Rome* hath before *Conſtantinople*, *Conſtantinople* has before *Alexandria*, and *Alexandria* has before *Antioch*, and *Jeruſalem* is the lowermoſt.

moſt; Neither of which Four are pretended by any; nor will the Church of *Rome* to be ſure admit, to have any thing of real Power over one another. I ſhall end this Section, and all that I have to ſay on this Head, with that of the 42 *Can. Conc. Carthag.* ὅτι ὁ τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπος, &c. That the firſt Biſhop, or Biſhop of the firſt Seat be not called Ἔξαρχον ἱερέων, ἀ ἀκρὸν ἱερέα, the Prince of Prieſts, or the chief Prieſt, but only the Biſhop ὁ πρῶτος καθέδρας of the firſt Seat, and which firſt Seat that it is in no manner dependent on *Rome*; and the ὁ πρωτόθρονος, ſo often mentioned in the following Canons, ows not thither any Appeals, nor can the Biſhop of *Rome* wreſt the Audience out of his hands, is ſo clearly the ſenſe of that Council, that nothing can be more, it being there Poſitively and on ſet purpoſe decided and determined againſt him, upon the detection of that Fraud of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s, deſign'd upon them in the very Caſe, and but juſt now by me mentioned, or more plainly in the *Scholia* on *Ariſtenus* upon that Canon. The Dignity of the Prieſthood is one and the ſame in all; and this ſhall not be called the chief Prieſt, and that a Prieſt leſs Perfect; but all are equally Prieſts, all equally Biſhops, as who all have equally receiv'd the Gift of the Holy Spirit; the Metropolitan Biſhop, as having the firſt Chair, with addition, ſhall be called Biſhop Metropolitan; or which ſeems moſtly appoſite for a preſent Concluſion (if any thing can be more than that which is already brought) in the ſenſe of thoſe three Biſhops, *Can* 8. *Conc. Gen. Epheſ.* Chap. 4.

Whatſoever

Chap. 4. *Whatsoever is nominated contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws, and the Canons of the Holy Fathers, and which toucheth the common liberty of Christians, is to be renounced and rejected.*

§. XXVII. I shall now therefore resume what I have already laid down and prov'd at large, that those of the Bishop are the full Orders, every one instance of Power design'd for the standing lasting use of the Church is in his, and consequently is he uppermost in the Church, can there be no one branch or design of Power above and beyond him; this his Power in some instances of it, hath been by consent, and for weighty Reasons moving, intermitted and suspended in the execution, as to the Persons of particular Bishops, where the Church increased and multiplied into various Bishopricks, and occasions grew, and causes arose betwixt one and the other, or sometimes arose in one alone, and within it self, which could not be heard and determined, but by different Persons, thus Metropolitans were constituted but with no new Power which was not in Episcopacy; nor was there any new Consecration, only so much devolved upon one for the occasional business. An occasion of which we have in part set down by *Hosius* in the entrance of the Council of *Carthage*, ἐαντὶς τυχὸν ἐπίσκοπος ὀργιλος &c. if by chance an angry Bishop (though such an one ought not to be) is over-sharp against a Presbyter or Deacon, or over-sudden, care is to be taken for better satisfaction, and he may appeal to a neighbour-Bishop, who is not to deny him audience. And that Bishop who first gave Sentence, whether right or wrong

wrong is to bear the Examination, and his Animadverſions to be either confirmed or corrected, as occaſion; or elſe the Biſhop derives ſo much of this Power to the two Orders below him, as the Presbyter and Deacon, whoſe Power is more ſolemnly conveigh'd by laying on of Hands and Prayer, and then conferr'd, ſo fixing a Character indelible, ſave only by that Power which devolved it, and upon a ſucceeding Guilt, and which for themſelves to lay down and deſert is Sacriledge, and theſe ſent out by the Biſhop as is the Harveſt great or ſmall, ſo more or leſs in number, in ſubjection to and dependency upon him. So that the ſtanding Church Officers are theſe; the Metropolitan which is only a Biſhop with larger Juriſdiction, and with the execution of a Power the Biſhop has not, and the naked Biſhop with his Presbyter and Deacon, in the ordinary courſe of officiating in order to Salvation, and which three, or ſome one or more of them, as is the occaſional Service, are ſtill to be preſent, and in their ſpheres and courſes, according to their ſeveral proper Provinces and Offices, as already deſcribed, and particularized, to attend and officiate in each Holy Aſſembly, in every Congregation that is Publick and Chriſtian, where the Worſhip and Service of God is ſo performed, as by the rules of the Goſpel is order'd and appointed. Thus *Tertullian* among the many abſurdities of his time reckons up this, *Laicis munia ſacerdotalia injungunt*, the Lay-men undertake the Prieſtly office, *De Præſcript. cap.* 41. the Church is the People united *Sacerdoti ſuo*, to Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. to their Priest, and a Flock with their Pastor, *Cypr. lib.* 4. *Ep.* 9. that is no Church *quæ non habet Sacerdotem*, which has no Priest, as St. *Jerom. adv. Luciferianos.* And he that reads over St. *Austin's* Sermon *super gestis cum Emerito Donatist. Episcopo. Col.* 631. will there find a great many Divine Services, and all without acceptance and advantage, because thus *extra Ecclesiam*, without the Church, no one belonging to the Priesthood there officiating for them. The Church of God is either *Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus*, as St. *Cyprian* again speaks, *Ep.* 52. that one Episcopacy diffused and overspreading the World in the Union and Concord of its numerous Bishops, and these either make a general Council, or are under their several Metropolitans, and are the Church representative; or else it is in *Episcopo & clero & omnibus stantibus constituta*, as *Cyprian* again *Ep.* 27. *Cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis & stantibus*, Ep. 31. in the Bishop and Clergy, the Presbyter Deacon and Laity, the latter expressed by the *stantes*, the People standing without in the time of officiating, according to the ancient Ecclesiastical Custom. And so also *Optatus lib.* 1. *adv. Parmen. Donatist.* speaks of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons and *turbam fidelium* the Believers in general. *Si tantummodo Christianus es, hoc est non Apostolus, Tertul. adv. Marc. cap.* 2. such as were Christians at large and not Publick Officers, nor of the Priesthood; and this as Members of a particular Church, Parish, or Congregation, or however as relating to the publick Service of God,

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God, to be diſcharged by all Chriſtians, and which cannot duly be perform'd without the Biſhop in Perſon, or in his Proxies, by his Power lodged in the Presbyter or Deacon. Thus he is called a Schiſmatick that erects an Altar without the conſent of the Biſhop, *Can.* 3. *Apoſt.* even though the Confeſſion of Faith is otherwiſe ſound. If thus ἀποχίζοντας καὶ ἀποσυνάγοντας, if thus dividing from and meeting againſt his Autority, *Can.* 6. *Conc. gen. Conſtantinop.* the very Clergy themſelves are not to adminiſter in their Oratories without licenſe had of the Biſhop, *Can.* 31. *Conc.* 6. *in Trullo.* And to the ſame purpoſe is Schiſm again defined, a receſſion from the Biſhop erecting an Altar againſt an Altar, *Can.* 13, 14, 15. *Conc.* 1, 2. *Conſtantin. Can.* 57. *Conc. Carthag.* and *Can.* 6. *Conc. Gangrenſ.* as the Church is there defined a Congregation of the Faithful, with their Biſhop; ſo is it there peremptorily determined that the Anathema or Curſe is due to thoſe, that privately and apart from theſe do convene and congregate themſelves. Nor is it Schiſm only, but Hereſie alſo; ſo reputed by the imperial Conſtitution, *Sacram Communionem in Eccleſia Catholica non percipientes à Deo amabilibus Epiſcopis Hereticos juſtè vocamus.* We juſtly call them Hereticks that do not receive Communion in the Catholick Church from the Biſhops which are beloved of God; for as ſuch, they were then look'd upon, and that more eminently than others, in the then Chriſtian account, and it was the Biſhop's common Epithete, *Deo amabiles Epiſcopi*, however the opinion and ſtyle of them is now alter'd, Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. ter'd, *Justinian. Novel.* 109. *Præfat.* And now these Church-Officers being thus set out and enumerated, what their peculiar Power and Jurisdiction is, their appropriated Acts and Duties and Influences are peculiar to themselves, apart and from the rest of Believers, the *tantummodo* Christians in *Tertullian*, take in these following instances.

§. XXVIII TO preside and govern in such their Assemblies, in the common constant return of the Worship of God, to appoint and assign the decency and order of it, to be the Mouth of the People to God in their Prayers and Thanksgivings put up and offer'd to him in their Name, and to be the Mouth of God to them, to teach and instruct, to admonish, correct and reprove; to Bless them in the Name and Strength of God Almighty, for though this be the Duty of every Christian, each private Member of such the Body and Incorporation, thus to instruct, correct, and pray for one another; yet in Publick Assemblies it is not, it is rather their Sin, and to be sure their Presumption, *Præsident probati quiq; seniores*, as *Tertullian* goes on, describing the coition or meeting together of Christians in his days, *Apol. cap.* 39. above mentioned, their Seniors or Elders there preside, and are in the Head, and governing such their Holy Convocations, ὁ προεδρος ἐν τοις ἐκκλησιαις ἐν προεδρια ἐκλεγεται ἐκ καλων τουτῳ μιμητας πεμπεται. So *Justin Martyr*, *Apol.* 2. the Bishop makes an Instruction and Exhortation in remembrance of God's Mercies; and he that reads over those Directions he gives to *Zenas* and *Serenus* two Presbyters, how to behave themselves

ſelves in their Duties, will readily ſee who Chap. 4.
it was in thoſe days that ſpoke to and exhorted the People, and that this is a branch ἡ ὑβριστικὴ as he calls it, of their Government and Juriſdiction, the Directions are theſe, ἡ ἀφροσύνη ἐκ ἔστω νῦν, that they be not affected and conceited in the diſcharge of their Miniſtry, over-pragmatick and officious in the ſervices of it; but do it ἐξῆς κόσμου, in an even and regular way, in the Seaſons and Places affixed, otherwiſe they'l appear like Dancers on the Ropes, be admired only by the idle People, κενόφρονα, holding out their Necks like ſo many Geeſe, and gaping at the vainer Glory; that they be neither clowniſh nor unskilful on the one hand, nor clamorous in their manner of ſpeaking, an inſtance of worldlineſs and feracity, to be avoided; be cautious againſt the Actions of thoſe, who make the Publick Oratories a Stage to divulge what is iller compoſed by them, perſonating *Oreſtes*, who appear'd terrible and great to Fools, for his wooden Feet, his made Belly, his odd Habit, monſtrous Face, that vaunt in a freedom of ſpeaking, ſtudious of Emulation and Contention, and like the *Bacchæ*, under the habit of Peace, and a ſhew of Holy Duties, carry Swords and Spears. He there cautions againſt thoſe unequal forced Countenances, one while pleaſant, another while ſower and tetricous, and particularly againſt that hiſtrionical way of thoſe who are every day ſpeaking and acting their Play divided into ſo many parts on purpoſe, and the Presbyter depoſed for Sedition againſt his Biſhop is called

Chap. 4. called ἐκλογεῖς *Can.* 18. *Conc. Ancyran.* and in several Canons is the same expression on the like occasion; he is one not allow'd to Preach any longer, ἢ ὁ πρεσβὺς ἐυχὰς ἰδιώτου ἢ ἐυχαριστίας τὸν λαὸν ἀνὴρ ἀναπίμπτει, *Just. Mart. Apol.* 2. and this President, These Elders or Church-men, they suitable to their strength, and in all due manner, send up Prayers likewise and Thanksgivings for the People, who still go along and joyn with them in such their Invocations, ἀναπέμπομεν κοινῇ πάντες ἢ ἐυχὰς ποιόμεθα we rise up all together, Sermon being ended, and go to our Prayers, as 'tis there expressed, & *suprà ibid.* be their Mouth, and they speak after him. Thus the ordained, or they, whose Office is affixed to attend in holy things, are Paraphrased in *Justinian, Novel.* 137. *Cap.* 1. οἱ ὑπὸ τεταγμένου ἐυχὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν λαῶν, the assigu'd to Pray for the People; and these are those Prayers ὑπὲρ εἰρήνου ἢ πάσης ἐκκλησίας in *Ignatius* his *Ep. ad Ephesios*, of the Bishop and the whole Church, and which that Apostolical Martyr there sayes are so prevailing. And now having come to that passage of *Justin Martyr* just now mentioned. I cannot but take notice of the chief Argument that is there raised by our Enthusiasts, for their gifted Extempore Prayer, the President say they, there prayed, τὸν λόγον, according to his private gifts and abilities, as he could conceive and utter words, and not in a form set and prescribed him. To which I answer, That as the Phrase imparts no such thing, so we have reason to believe that the Author meant nothing less by it. What did the whole Congregation, and every man in it thus

thus Pray after his own conceiving? and yet Chap. 4.
the ſame Father, in the ſame Apology tells us, that all pray'd with their Preſident, and in the ſame Phraſe is their Praying expreſſed too, *p.* 60. *Ed. Pariſ.* and the meaning can alone be this, they prayed ὁμοθυμαδὸν, as 'tis expreſſed before, both Prieſt and People all at once pour'd out their Prayers together, *animo intento*, as 'tis tranſlated, with Souls intent and fixed upon the Duty, *De pectore* as *Tertullian* varies it, *Apol. c.* 30. (and which place they pervert to their purpoſe alſo) from their Hearts and Conſciences, with that Attention, Zeal, Faith, and other Qualifications, that make Prayers acceptable, and which is the alone praying with the Spirit. Like Phraſes we have in other Eccleſiaſtical Writers, but not one makes any thing to their purpoſe. So *Origen* in his *lib.* 8. *cont. Celſum*, ᾄδομεν ἀδὴν ἐκ δυνάμεως, they ſay Hymns to God with all their might and power, like the Amen with all their *might* among the *Jews*, and of which the Hebrew Doctors have this obſervation, whoſo ſaith *Amen* with all his might the Garden of *Eden* is open unto him, *vid. Thorndike.* The Service of Religious Aſſemblies, *p.* 234. So *Euſebius Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 10. *c.* 3. the Preſidents of the Churches had their Panegyrick Orations ἐκ ἰδίας ἑκάστου δυνάμεως, *quantum quiſq; poterat ingenio*, as *Valleſius* tranſlates it, according to his faculty in Oratory, which no man preſumes to be otherwiſe than preconceived, to be an *extempore* effuſion and inpremeditated. And ſo 'tis ſaid in that Chapter, that every age and the promiſcuous multitude of each Sex,

Chap. 4. ἐν διανοίας ἕξει, *toto pectore* as translated, with all the strength of their Mind and Thoughts, did officiate in Prayers, and giving of Thanks, worshipping with cheerfulness of Mind; and surely these Men, Women and Children, did not every one Perform, Pray and give Thanks in an *extempore* way; besides, if we consider the manner of their Worship, which was in set composed Hymns, and Songs, speaking in courses and interchangeably one to another, as is above observed; all which must be preconceived and penn'd down, it must in each instance be familiar to them before; to all which add how repugnant these casual effusions are to that course of Liturgies and set Forms of Prayer which we have as much reason to believe these first Christians used, as that they served God at all; or let them consider with what Spirit it was they said the Lord's Prayer, which St. *Jerome* says our Saviour taught the Apostles every day to repeat in their Liturgies, *Sic docuit Apostolos suos, ut quotidiè in corporis illius Sacrificio credentes audeant loqui, Pater noster, qui es in Cœlis*, &c. *Lib. 3. Cont. Pelag. versus finem.*

§. XXIX. A second Instance peculiar and appropriate to Church Officers, and which is not in the Body mixt and promiscuous, is the Power of the Administration of the Sacraments, *viz.* the Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, together with that other Sacrament, (as 'tis also call'd by the Ancients) or Rite or Ceremony of Confirmation, and which are, and ever were, administred by Men in Holy Orders; and then, and only then adjudged, duely discharg'd, valid,

valid, and ſerviceable, as all do agree, that acknowledge either, or both, or all of them, to be Chriſtian Inſtitutions. As for that of the Lord's Supper, that it was conſecrated by the Biſhop, and from him, by the Deacon, delivered to the People; 'tis evident of *Juſtin Martyr*'s ſecond Apology, εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ πρωτόστου, &c. the Biſhop giving thanks, *i. e.* having conſecrated the Elements, the Deacon diſtributed; for the manner and virtue of Conſecration did not conſiſt in pronouncing ſo many words over the Elements, as 'tis weakly contended by ſome in the days that have been ſince, but in the office of Prayer and Thankſgiving by the attractation of, or ſome other ſignal appropriation to the Elements, particularly applied unto them; ἁγιαζόμενα τὰ ἱερά. *Can.* 4. *Conc. Carthag. Verborum ſolemnitas, & ſacra invocatio nominis, & ſigna, inſtitutionibus Apoſtolicis, ſacerdotum Miniſteriis, attributa, viſibile celebrant Sacramentum, &c. Cypr. de Baptiſm. Chriſti ad initium*, the ſolemnity of words, ſacred invocation of the Holy Name, and Signs, added to the Apoſtolical Inſtitution, by the miniſtry of the Prieſts, celebrate the viſible Sacrament; the viſible part, or thing it ſelf, is form'd and ſhap'd by the Spirit, perfecting and crowning all, and ſo in the forementioned place of *Juſtin Martyr*, the action of conſecrating is call'd, δι' εὐχῆς εὐχαριστίας τροφήν, nouriſhment thankfully receiv'd by Prayer, and the action of conſecration is expreſſed in *Irenaus*, *lib.* 1. *c.* 9. by εὐχαριστεῖν, to give thanks, ἐκθέσεως & λόγου ἐπικλήσεως, extending the word of invocation, *ibid.* as *Origen. cont. Celſ. lib.* 8.

Chap. 4.

Chap 4. and the ſame is in *Ignatius* before them all, *Ep. ad Smyrnenſes*, μηδὲ εὐχαριστίας ἢ εὐχῆς ἄνευ ἐπιτρέπειν, and ſo general was it, that the very Heretieks, who uſually ap'd it after the Church when to their advantage, uſed this very way, and 'tis ſaid of *Marcus* the Heretick and Conjurer, that deſigning to delude his followers, and repreſent to them an appearance, as of Blood, diſtilling into the Chalice, and mock-Sacrament, *Simulans ſe gratias agere, ſeu* εὐχαριστῶν, *quod hodie, conſecrare dicimus, poſt longam invocationem, purpureum & rubrum apparere faciebat*, feigning to give thanks, which is the Phraſe for Conſecration, after a long invocation, he made it look like purple colour and red, as *Pamelius* gives the account, *Annot. in Tertull. cap.* 4. *cont. Valentin. num.* 32. and though the Presbyter do deſiſt from Conſecration in the preſence of the Biſhop, *Can.* 13. *Conc. Neocaeſar:* yet 'tis in his Orders, enabling him to it, and either he or the Biſhop are ſaid ἄρτον ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν εὐχῇ, to give the Bread in Prayer, (as it is now in our Communion Book) that ἀχράντου κοινωνίας that immaculate Communion *Can.* 23. *Can.* 6ᵗᵉ in *Trullo*. And *Zonaras* in *Can.* 78. *Apoſt.* ſays that a blind man, or one without his right hand, ought not to be ordained; for how can he officiate in holy things ἢ μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὰ ἅγια, ἢ μεταδιδόναι ἑτέροις τούτων, or handle the holy Elements, or diſtribute to others of them? I'le only add what I find in *Euſebius* his Hiſtory, *l.* 7. *c.* 9. concerning one that was diſſatisfied in his Baptiſm, which he receiv'd from Hereticks, and deſired Catholick Baptiſm of one *Dionyſius*, a then preſent

ſent famous Biſhop, the words are theſe, and give a good account of the offices of private Chriſtians in thoſe days. The holy Biſhop tells him he dares not Rebaptize him, and that a daily and conſtant Communion with the Church will ſuffice; for he that ſhall frequently hear Prayers, and anſwer *Amen* with the reſt of the Congregation, who places himſelf at the holy Table, there ſtands and reaches forth his hand to receive the holy Food, who there very often receives it, and is partaker of the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. I dare not baptize him again, but appoint him to go on and perſevere in ſuch his Religious Duties. And the ſame is as notorious of the Sacrament of Confirmation. This is ſufficiently cleer out of St. *Jerome adv. Luciferian. Tom.* 3. that thoſe which were baptized by the Preſbyters and Deacons in leſſer Cities, *Epiſcopus ad invocationem Spiritus Sancti manum impoſiturus excurrat*; for the invocation of the Spirit of God, the Biſhop runs forth, or takes his Circuit, and lays his hand upon them, the only difficulty appearing is as to the Sacrament of Baptiſm. St. *Auſtin*'s Judgment is, *Laicus urgente neceſſitate, poſſit baptizare, Tom.* 7. *l.* 2. *cont. Parmen. cap.* 13. a Layman, if neceſſity urges, may baptize. And St. *Jerome* ſays the ſame *adv. Luciferianos*, and that it was in uſe in his days; and the Practice being permitted in our Church, made up a part of the Canvaſs betwixt *Thomas Cartwright*, and our two learned Writers Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, and Mr. *Hooker*, as is to be ſeen in their Writings; but the caſe goes farther Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. in that of *Athanasius*, who when a Boy, and at play on the Sea-shore, acted a Bishop, and baptized such of his play-fellows, as were not before initiated by that Sacrament, and when examined by the Bishop, and upon an after consultation with his Presbyters, the Baptism was allow'd of, *Sozom. Eccl. Hist. l.* 2. *c.* 17. The deep sense and apprehension they had of but *one Baptism*, and the danger of being rebaptized, which is branded by the name of Incest and Sacriledge, and the Priest was to be deposed that did it, as appears in the Imperial Laws provided in the case, 16. *Cod. Theodos.* and the great trouble that the Church of God had at that time, occasion'd first by St. *Cyprian* and his Bishops pleading it, upon the former usuage of the Church, and afterward managed to the evil of a great Schism by the Donatists, who followed St. *Cyprian* in his Error, but forsook him in his Obedience, who refused to make a rent in the Church upon the occasion, as all Scismaticks do. These Considerations might make them very careful, and perhaps too nice, how they admitted of Rebaptizations, and which were only admitted in case of certain Hereticks who denied the Trinity, (*Vid. Can.* 47. *Apost. &* 49. *& Can.* 9. *Conc. Nic.* 1.) or else where there is a doubt, and no sure witness to avouch the Baptism, pretended, once to be administred, or the Persons themselves are not able to give an account of the Mysteries then delivered unto them, as *Can.* 57. *Conc. Carthag.* and which Canon was occasioned by their Embassador with the Moors, who usually brought such Children from the Barba-

Barbarians; but yet there is no inſtance in the firſt Canons of rebaptizing thoſe who were certainly known to be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, upon any accident, by Laymen; and yet ſuch we have reaſon to believe there was. Hence Baptiſm once appearing to have been adminiſtred as to the Matter and Subſtance of it, and in the words of the Inſtitution, and by ſuch as were not of the Hieratical Order, they adjudged it the ſafer way, to truſt the Mercy and Goodneſs of God for a ſupply of whatever defect might be in one or two outward Circumſtances, than to run the hazard of an attempt, of what ſeemed ſo viſibly and notoriouſly unlawful, *viz.* a ſecond admiſſion by that Sacrament, or a violation of that known and ſacred rule, or inſtance of our Belief; *one Baptiſm for remiſſion of Sins.* And this, as in all defects, and where ſomething is wanting, it ought to be permitted and pardoned only under the preſent and unhappy Circumſtances (as alſo in the after practice of the Church,) but never produced and urged as a Rule, enacted into a Law. Infirmities are never made Preſidents, unleſs for Pity and Pardon, and to quicken future care and watchfulneſs againſt them, the common courſe of things abhors; nor is it to be endur'd if otherwiſe, *Poteſtatem regenerationis demandans ſuis diſcipulis, cum dixit iis, Euntes docete omnes gentes baptizantes, &c. Iren. l.* 3. *c.* 19. Chriſt Jeſus then demandated or devolved the Power for Regeneration unto his Diſciples when he bad them *go and teach all Nations baptizing* Chap. 4

Chap. 4. *them*, &c. and certainly such as attempt it, ought first to receive the same Autority in Succession from him, without which his Disciples, that in Person attended him did it not. *Tertullian* represents it, as the height of impudence and irregularity for a Woman to baptize, *forsitan & tingere*, a more sawcy act, then to teach in the Church, *De præscr. c.* 41. then which no Book was ever wrote with a more Primitive Spirit, and speaks of it as a thing in general forbad a Woman, *de Virgin. Veland. c.* 9. He limits it to the Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon; only in necessity it comes to the Lay-man, *Sufficiat sc. ut in necessitatibus utaris, sicubi aut loci, aut temporis, aut personæ conditio compellit, tunc enim constantia succurrentis excipitur, quam urgit circumstantia periclitantis, De Baptism. c.* 17. and surely that which is but one, never to be reiterated, 'tis Sacriledge, 'tis incest, to do it, to which so many and great Titles, Eulogies and Effects are given by the Ancients, it would be endless to repeat them; so many to be sure, more, are not spoken of any one Service in the whole City of God. That which first enters us into the Body and Association of Christians, with so large Promises, upon such solemn ties and obligations, the Expectations and Duties of our whole life following; and that which is performed and obtained with the same solemnity and invocation, as in other Holy Mysteries, *invocato Deo, Sanctificationis Sacramentum consequuntur aquæ, Tertul. de Baptism. c.* 4. it is not agreeable, that the Consecration and Solemnization be left and assigned promiscuously and to every hand, and

and which is not in other Sacraments, it muſt in courſe be equally peculiar and ſeparate; as to the ſeparation of the Perſons that are to be entruſted with the adminiſtration of it. Chap. 4.

A further appropriated diſtinct Power to the Officers of the Church is to unite and determine in Council, in the affairs of Religion, as to Matters of Faith, when leſs cleer, when unhappily wreſted and perverted by Hereticks, in fixing things indifferent in their Nature for the more uſefulneſs, order and uniformity in the Worſhip of *God*, for the ſetling of Conſciences in the private apprehenſion of them, and governing ſuitable to ſuch the Laws and Canons in each caſe ſo made and conſtituted by them. For this end the Apoſtles and Elders met together and united in Council at *Jeruſalem*, and determined concerning things offer'd to Idols and eating of Blood, *&c. Acts* 15. ſo thoſe many ſubſequent Councils, whilſt the Empire kept off from the Church, as againſt that Error of the *Arabians*, that the Souls ſleep upon the ſeparation, *Euſeb. Hiſt. l.* 6. *c.* 37. in that againſt *Novatus*, *Cap.* 43. againſt *Paulus Samoſetanus*, *l.* 7. *c.* 29. with ſeveral others in Hiſtory tranſmitted to this purpoſe was that Body or Collection of Canons, bearing the Title of the Apoſtles Canons, upon ſeveral occaſions made for the uſe and direction, and government of the Chriſtian Incorporation and Society, ſuch were the four firſt general Councils, when the Empire became Chriſtian, and receiv'd the Church under its wings and protection. The firſt under *Conſtantine* held §. XXX.

at

Chap. 4. at *Nicæa* againſt *Arius*, and aſſerted the Eternity of the Son of God, that he was not a meer Creature. The ſecond held at *Conſtantinople*, under *Theodoſius* the Great againſt *Macedonius*, and aſſerted the Eternal divinity of the Holy Ghoſt; who ſaid the third Perſon was a meer Creature. The third was held at *Epheſus* under *Theodoſius* the leſſer, againſt *Neſtorius*, who own'd the both Godhead and Manhood of Chriſt, but divided him into two Perſons. The fourth at *Chalcedon* under *Marcian*, the Emperor, againſt *Entiches*, who confounded the two Natures in one Perſon, as *Neſtorius* divided the Perſons, with others, whether Oecumenical or Topical, during or ſucceeding theſe, and whoſe either Declarations, as to what Faith was at firſt delivered and ſince received, upon a juſt and traditional enquiry, even to the placing ſome Books into the Canon of Scripture, which were not with the earlieſt admitted; or conſtituted Canons in Church-Polity, were ſtill thought obliging to all good and peaceable Chriſtians, determined and ended the preſent debate, and only a Compliance was the iſſue of them; and that either to all Chriſtendom, or particular Churches, ſuitable as were the Councils, either Univerſal, or under ſingle Metropolitans, or particular Biſhops, accordingly did they oblige. And this Legiſlative Power, as originally given only to Church-Officers; ſo is it alone reſiding in them, to rule and to govern, receive or reject, to puniſh or reward, according to ſuch their own Laws, as the reaſon and nature of ſuch the Societies and their Conſtitution will direct and bear, as

unhappy

unhappy Differences and Debates aroſe, they were thus to be decided by the Convention of Councils, who either confirmed what they found was well done before, or paſſed farther Sanctions where the occaſion was new, or upon notoriety of failure, in former Declarations. For the Power of Councils was never aſſerted, as abſolutely Autorative in it ſelf, and infallible in its Determinations, as to make Truth, but declarative only of what was Truth from the beginning, as the beſt expedient on Earth to find it out, and the alone Autority on Earth to paſs Sanctions upon preſent appearance for preſent Settlement, Peace, and Unity, every man had his liberty ſtill entire, and reſerved for farther enquiries where he ſaw or ſuſpected occaſions; but this to be propoſed in the next Council, 'twas to be brought to the Apoſtles and Elders there, whoſe Autority alone was to reject or admit it. As to Publick Confeſſions, what room and autority the Empire had, and is always to have in theſe Councils is already declared, *Cap.* 2. and though the Faithful or Believers at large many times had conflux thither, and were permitted either for their diverſion, or private ſatisfaction, or information; yet no one ever paſſed his Vote judicially, or concurred in the Power Legiſlative, as has been above alſo ſhew'd, *ibid.* This ſtill goes in the Name and Power of the Biſhops, and Clergy alone, as muſt appear to every one, from the both firſt derivation of that Power, and after-practice, both in that Apoſtolical firſt Synod at *Jeruſalem*, and all other ſucceeding, excepting ſuch who on purpoſe ſet their Face againſt

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Chap. 4 againſt what with their Eyes they never did and will not ſee.

§. XXXI. A fourth inſtance of this eſpecial appropriated Power is the exerciſe of Diſcipline Eccleſiaſtical, and this either in fixing ſet Stations, particular rules and orders of Duty and Performances upon ſuch as were newly brought off from Heatheniſm, become Penitents and Converts in order to the Kingdom of Heaven and Chriſtianity, or elſe in laying Puniſhments, Penal Duties upon thoſe, who after their admiſſion and undertaking Chriſtianity, when they had throughly known the ways of Righteouſneſs, been enlightned and taſted the good gift of God, revolt and turn back again, will not abide the terms of it, by way of Penance and Satisfaction, and this ſometimes by corporal Puniſhments with a Power reſerved for Indulgencies and Abatements, a relaxation upon proficiency, or non-proficiency under them, placed in the power and diſcretion of the Biſhop or Paſtor; for the beſt Antiquity is not at all ſhye in theſe terms and expreſſions, ſhe ſpake as ſhe acted. Thus in the Catholique Epiſtle of St. *Barnabas* ſet out by *Iſaac Voſſius* Sect. 1. *ad finem Epiſtolæ*, ἵνα διὰ χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου, that he work with his hands to the purging away his Sins. So *Lactantius*, *l.* 6. *Sect. ult. Si quid mali fecerit ſatisfaciat*, that ſatisfaction be given for his evil. St. *Cyprian Ep.* 50. gives an account of the Epiſtle he had received from *Fidus* his Brother, who tells him how *Therapius* his Colleague did reconcile to the Church over-haſtily *Victor* a certain Presbyter, *Antequam pœnitentiam plenam egiſſet, & domino*

domino Deo, in quem deliquerat, ſatisfeciſſet; before he had completed his Repentance, and ſatisfied God againſt whom he had ſinned, and for which St. *Cyprian* admoniſheth his Friend that he do ſo no more, *ibid.* And again, *Ep.* 64. Satisfaction is what is required upon a ſenſe of having ſinned, *ut ſe peccaſſe potius intelligant & ſatisfaciant*; to give all the inſtances were to ſpend too much Paper, what is here brought may ſuffice, or he that deſires more may have it from the learned *Hugo Grotius Rivetian. Apol. Diſcuſſ. Pag.* 700. *ed. Lond.* and all this placed in ſuch as have the Keys of the Church, whence they are to receive *ſatisfactionis ſuæ modum*, the meaſures of their Penance and Satisfaction, as he there cites St. *Auſtin*, no man was admitted into the Church of Chriſt but by degrees, but as through ſo many Poſts and Stations, through which they were to paſs, ἐξ ὅτου ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον, as 'tis *Can.* 4. 6. 9. *Conc. Ancyr.* and then to go on to that which is more perfect, to be admitted to the Holy Communion, the top inſtance of Devotion and Communion, or be received μετὰ προσφορᾶς with an oblation, as 'tis expreſſed, *Can.* 7, 8. *ibid.* for by the words of ὑπὲρ προσφορᾶς, &c. that holy Sacrament was by the Ancients ſtill expreſſed. Thus we read in the Church Story and Practice, as remembred and referr'd unto, but as not then inſtituted, being antecedent, and of more antiquity, of the ἀκροώμενοι the hearers only in the Church, a ſet order of Penitents permitted only to hear the Word of God, with the Hymns and Songs and Praiſes, placed without the Temple, and theſe were

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the

Chap. 4. the lowermoſt form in order to ſomething elſe, to farther Duties, as thus inſtructed and fitted for them, and ſuch as ſtaid here, and would only hear, engage and incorporate no farther, neither come to the Prayers nor the Holy Sacrament in the ſet Order, and aſſigned Times for it, were reputed as if they had not been initiated at all; the Council of *Antioch* turns them quite out of the Church, *Can.* 2. and by which rule what will become of the greateſt part of our now adays profeſſing Chriſtians, let them look to it; or perhaps, let ſuch as preſide over them have the government and power of Diſcipline in their hands. Then we have the εὐχόμενοι, ſuch as advanced to the publick Prayers, next the πίστοι, thoſe that came to the Sacraments. See *Can.* 11. *Conc. Nic.* 1. together with the Scholia's of *Zonaras* and *Balſamon*; and *Can.* 14. we have the κατηχόμενοι, who it ſeems were thoſe that were Auditors and more, were Baptized, as by the *Scholia* there appears, and the ſame we find before this Council of *Nicea*, *Conc. Ancyr. Can.* 4, 5, 6. and the χειμαζόμενοι or Demoniacks, who had their diſtinct ſtation, *Can.* 17. *Cum ſcholiis.* And theſe courſes of Diſcipline we have alluded to in ſeveral places of *Tertullian*, (and therefore were extant in the Church very early, *Tertullian* being ſometime before any of theſe now mentioned Councils) but moſt fully and at once, of any that I have obſerved in them, in his Book of Preſcriptions, *Cap.* 41. and which I ſhall therefore here repeat; where he reproves and preſtringes ſuch thoſe Hereticks he writes againſt, for the

the perverting & violating such this received Chap. 4.
customary Discipline, *Non omittã ipsius etiam conversationis hæretica descriptionẽ, quam futilis, quam terrena, quam humana sit, sine gravitate, sine autoritate, sine disciplina, ut fidei sua congruens; imprimis, quis catecumenus, quis fidelis, incertum sit, pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant, etiam ethnici si supervenerint, sanctum canibus, & porcis Margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt, simplicitatem volunt esse prostrationem disciplinæ, cujus penes nos curam lenocinium vocant, pacem quoque passim cum omnibus miscent; nihil enim interest illis, licet diversa tractantibus, dum ad unius veritatis expugnationem conspirent, omnes tument, omnes seditionem pollicentur, ante sunt perfecti catecumeni quam edocti.* "I will not omit a description "of the heretical even conversation, how fu- "tile, how vain, how humane it is, without "Gravity, without Autority, without Disci- "pline, how congruous with their faith? "first of all, who is the catecumen, who the "faithful 'tis uncertain, they go together, they "hear together, they pray together, even the "Ethnicks if they come among them, they "will cast the holy things to dogs, and the "Margarites to Swine, though not true ones, "they will have simplicity to be only a pro- "stration of Discipline, the care of which "that we have, they call a cheat or the "work of a Pander, they give their peace "promiscuously with one another, nor are "they concern'd, though different in them- "selves, whilst they conspire to the destructi- "on of one Truth, all are puffed up, all swell, "all pretend to science, they are first Cate-

"cumens,

Chap. 4. "cumens ere throughly learn'd. Or he that would see this course of Discipline in its fuller draught, let him peruse the late learned Annotations in *Can.* 11. & 14. *Con. Nic.* 1. printed at *Oxford*, now suitable to these stations and orders and degrees, in which such as came over to Christianity were placed, and according to their proficiency and due behaviour were promoted; so were they the rules and measures the ancient Church took for the exercising discipline upon those persons, that having passed through them, been baptised, confirm'd and admitted to the Holy Communion, became of the Lapsi, fell back again from the grace received, Apostatized from their most Holy Order and Profession, and that according to the circumstances of such their departure, as more or less of guilt appeared. And this is plain from the forementioned Canons and others, thus in the *Can.* 11. *Conc. Nic.* 1. Such as without any necessity, no violence to their Goods offered, or any sensible danger appearing, did recede under *Licinius* the Tyrant, their Penance or Discipline was upon a true repentance, to be placed back again, and become hearers only for three years, and after two years more among the *Orantes*, they were readmitted to the Holy Altar. So *Can.* 14. The proportionate punishments were inflicted on the *Catecumeni* and others *lapsed*, in *Can* 4. *Conc. Ancyr.* They on the other hand that sacrificed by force, but yet did eat at the Idol Feasts, without any remorse expressed either in their habits and countenance, though not adhering to them, their

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Punishment was less; to be Hearers only but one year, to become prostrate three, two years to attend the place of Prayer, and then to go on to that which is perfect, to be admitted again to the advantage of the great mystery, and highest instance of Christian Devotion, the partaking of the holy Altar; and *Can.* 5. those that eat with apparent present remorse, evidenced by their tears, being substrate two years, in the third year they were fully restored, and so according to the proportion of the demerit; and as the more or less guilt appear'd, such was the Amerciament, as is to be seen in the following Canons of that Council, and I have produced my instances out of these two Councils, both for the greatest autority, and very near, greatest antiquity, they being very ancient, of these Ecclesiastical Penances, and the way used by the Church in the laying of them. And all this, that it was appropriated and peculiar to the Office of the Priesthood, in whose alone hands it resided, and in the obedience alone and subjection to whom it was adjudged acceptable in the performance is equally evident, *ᾧ ὅτι ἂν μεταγνόησε ἤδη ἐπὶ τὴν ἑνότητα ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι θεῷ ἔσται—ἀρεῖ ὁ Κύριος, ἐὰν μεταγνοήσῃ εἰς ἑνότητα καὶ συνέδριον ἐπισκόπου. Ignatius Ep. ad Philadelph. ed. Voss.* when repenting they come to the Unity of the Church, and the Regiment and Subjection to the Bishop, these are of God, and the Lord will forgive them. *Penitentiam autem ille agit, qui divinis Præceptis mitis & patiens, & sacerdotibus Dei obtemperans, obsequiis suis & operibus justis Deum promeretur.* He it is that is the

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Chap. 4. true Penitent, who meekly and patiently according to the Divine Precepts, and submitting to the Priests of God, by his Obedience and just Performances, regains, or obtains favour anew of God, *Cypr. Ep.* 4. *ed. Pamel.* As it is even necessary to examine ἡ πεφιγεγραμμένην καὶ τὸ ἔθος μετάνοιας, the rise and kind of the Repentance, in order to the due Punishment. So this Power is in the Bishop, to whom it is lawful φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι τὰ περὶ ἑκάστου βεβιωκότος, ἢ δριμύτητι χρῆσθαι, to consult in order to Mercy or Severity, *Can.* 12, 13. *Conc.* 1. *Nic.* So *Can.* 5. *Conc. Ancyr.* the Bishops have Power to examine the manner of the Penitents conversation, and to use Clemency, φιλανθρωπότερος, or to add to the time of his Discipline, πλείονα τὸν διδόναι ἢ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, to add to, or abate of the Penance; and all this as very ancient in Church Story, so is it a transcript of that which is from the beginning of St. *Paul*'s own hand and original, in that Person under the Church censures, 2 *Cor.* 2. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. *Sufficient to such an one is this Punishment inflicted by many; so that contrariwise ye ought to forgive him, lest perhaps such an one be swallow'd up with overmuch sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you, that you would confirm your love towards him; for to this end also did I write that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things, to whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive; for if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it, in the Person of Christ, lest Sathan should get the advantage of us, for we are not ignorant of his devices.*

THERE

THERE is a fifth inſtance of Power pecu- Chap. 4.
liar and appropriate to the Goſpel Miniſtry, §. XXXII.
inveſted alone in it, which is Exciſion or Excommunication, a Power of cutting off from this Body or Aſſociation, upon the failure of thoſe terms and conditions of Duty, in the Performance of which, either the Body in general, or the intereſt and advantage of each particular Chriſtian can be preſerved. And this is more than an Abſtention of which we have an inſtance out of St. *Cyprian*, *Utar eâ admonitione quâ me uti Dominus jubet, ut interim prohibeantur offerre*, a forbidding the Holy Altar, *Ep.* 10. *ad finem*, but there is a *cenſura Evangelica*, a Goſpel cenſure which follows upon this Diſcipline or Eccleſiaſtical Puniſhment, if contemned, and mentioned together with it by St. *Cyprian*, *Ep.* 52. *ad finem*, & ἐπιλάτης γίνεσθαι ἐκκλησίας to be caſt out of the Church, or excommunicated; by which words Excommunication is expreſſed. *Can.* 2. *Conc. Antioch*, is a farther Act or Puniſhment upon ſuch as had firſt paſſed the other Sentence upon themſelves, turned themſelves out of the Communion of the Church, in its Prayers and holy Euchariſt; and which ſeems the ſenſe and deſign of that ἀφορίζεσθαι *Can.* 9. *Apoſt.* that farther Separation to be made of ſuch, as in a caſe very like it, would come to Church and hear the Scriptures, but ſeparate from Prayers and the Holy Communion. An act or cenſure that is forenſick, judicial and autoratative, pronounced by thoſe ſitting on twelve Thrones in the Goſpel, the Church-Governors, judging the Tribes of *Iſrael*; *Plenißimum imperium in domo Dei*, having a

Chap. 4. complete thorow Power in the House of God, as *Grot.* in *Apoc.* 3. 7. and all which thus on Earth by them transacted is bound and confirm'd in Heaven; So 'tis expressed by St. *Cyprian*, *à spe Communionis & Pacis prohibendos esse*, 'tis a prohibiting from the Hope and Communion of Peace, so long as continuing in the Impiety; or as the Church sense is given of it to us before him by *Tertullian*, *Apol.* c. 39. *Summum futuri judicii prejudicium, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à Communione Orationis & Conventûs & omnis sancti Commercii relegetur*, it is the greatest, most certain Presumption and pre-occupation of the Judgment to come, upon a Delinquent that is banish'd from the Communion of Prayer and Conventions, and all holy Commerce, *Quodammodo ante diem judicii judicant.* So St. *Jerome* of the Priests, *Ep. ad Heliodorum*, spoken with some abatement of Expression, but to the same purpose, they in a manner judge before the Day of Judgment. And if some Fathers in the Council of *Ephesus* refused Subscriptions to the Anathema's and Excommunications of the *Nestorian* Hereticks there condemned, and rather turned the Sentence upon themselves in absenting from their Communion, as Mr. *Selden de Syned. l.* 2. *c.* 12. reports it from *Acacius*; this argues only the great tenderness of these holy Men, and how dreadful and tremendous the Ordinance appear'd unto them, the same Blessing is denied, only with a shew of more, I had almost said foolish, Pity and Love, it returns at length to the same thing, and with more weight and argument, that such as are unruly, and will

not

not obey the Truth, are to be turned out of the Church Communion, even the most tender and affectionate to their Persons, dare not congregate in holy Duties with them; a Power in the Church which in course follows, supposing it to be a Church, admitting such the imbodying and incorporation that is here contended for, what is natural in all other Bodies and Associations, and which must be concluded in this, without a great affront on the wisdom and foresight of the Institutor; for otherwise it has not what is necessary for its Preservation, nor can it subsist without such a jurisdiction over contumacious Offenders. And indeed to allow in Church-men a Power for admission by Baptism, and to enstate in Church Priviledges, which none that own Christianity dare deny, and to deny this power for Punishment and Correction, upon the breach of the Baptismal terms, and which how many among us that are zealous for the former, do, is what is as incongruous and inconsequential as any thing in the world, as any thing in common apprehensions can be; only men are rash and heady, and do not throughly consider. And it is as easily conceivable to men that give themselves a due liberty of thinking, that the same Power in Heaven may equally concur with and ratifie what is done in Earth, in the cutting off and due Exclusion from the Church, upon breach of the terms on which admitted to it, as at the first admission, and when on those terms enjoyned, the disadvantage, as the Priviledge must be equally allowed; nor is there any thing of thwarting Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. more in the one than the other; a branch of Discipline once executed only upon Lay-men, the first Canons of the Church not permitting Excommunication to pass upon any of the κλασίαρχοι τῶν Ἱερατικῶν, within the Order of the Priesthood, these were to be deposed from such their high office upon Crimes committed; 'twas the other only was excommunicated, when the offence was adjudged worthy of it, and which in effect is but the same Punishment, and the same inconveniencies attend the one as the other in their several Stations; there was a deprivation to both, the Clergy of his Ecclesiastical, and the Laick of his Baptismal advantages, it was not lawful to joyn in religious Duty with a Lay-man excommunicated, neither with a Clergyman deposed, as in the tenth and eleventh Canons of the Apostles.

§. xxxii. THE next instance of Church Power that follows in the course of things, is the Power of Absolution, as of retaining, so of remitting Sins, they are both put together by our Saviour, and of the same Donation, and so firmly depend on one another, that, as relations of the first order, they include one another and are inseparable. A Power in the Church to shut out, and not to readmit, to cut off, and not to reunite, were a Power for Destruction only, not for Edification, and which the great Gospel-design of Mercy and Salvation, of abatement and remission cannot endure; 'Tis true, Excommunication is, as the last Sentence of the great Judge, ('tis the anticipation of it) equally as firm and irreversible upon the persevering incorrigibly guilty,

as

as is from the Ancients in the foregoing Chap. 4.
Chapter obſerv'd; but herein it differs from that laſt Sentence, becauſe inflicted as a Remedy, and not only as a Puniſhment, it leads by Hell gates for Heaven; 'tis on this ſide the Pit, that its mouth be not ſhut upon us for ever; 'tis inflicted in order to Mercy and Remiſſion, which no Puniſhments from the Sentence of the great Judge are; and this our Judgment, 'tis only then without mercy and irreverſible, like as is that, when the Sinner perſeveres, as do thoſe damned, in the height of his non-repentance. The formal act of Excommunication is expreſſed by St. *Paul* by a word which ſignifies *to mourn*, and *ye have not mourned*, i. e. excommunicated *that wicked Perſon*, 2 Cor. 5. 2. 'tis done with remorſe and ſorrow, and reſcinded again with joy, thoſe hands which caſt out, have arms wide open to receive again with Kiſſes and Embracings, as it was with the returning Prodigal in the Goſpel; 'tis a departure for a time, that they may be receiv'd for ever, by a ſenſible feeling of the loſs, to ſet a more value on the Bleſſing; and therefore 'tis not inflicted on thoſe that are without, as St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 5. 12. *do we not judge them that are within, but them which are without God judgeth*, v. 19. *ibid.* and which, were it only as a Puniſhment, and but to aggravate, or enſure their Damnation, were it only a bare Curſing out of the Church, as the licentious and Enemies to God's Diſcipline ſtill ſlanderouſly report of it, it were equally proper for both, Sinners without, as Sinners within; but 'tis quite otherwiſe, an exciſion, or cutting

Chap. 4. off only, where formerly Members, and which the act ſuppoſes in the bare expreſſion; 'tis ſomewhat lay'd on thoſe that have had once a ſenſe of the benefit of the heavenly Aſſociation, and have taſted of the good Gifts thereof, and to teach them in the abſence and deprivation, that advantage they would not otherwiſe conſider, at leaſt they ſet no value upon. Amongſt others, this was one error of the *Novatians*, that remiſſion is not to be expected from the Prieſt, but from God alone, as *Socrates* tells us, *Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 10. and was condemned by the Church amongſt his other miſtakes, *Ad exomologeſin veniunt, & per manus impoſitionem Epiſcopi & Cleri, jus Communionis accipiant.* So *Cyprian*, *Ep.* 10. they came to Confeſſion, and are receiv'd into the Church, by the laying on of the hands of the Biſhop and Clergy. And in that Epiſtle and the eleventh juſt following, he reproves the Presbyters, becauſe *Nomen offertur, Euchariſtia datur*, their readmiſſion and enrollment is granted. And not only St. *Cyprian*, but the whole Clergy of *Rome*, (*ad quos perfidia habere non poſſit acceſſum*, Ep. 55.) when not work'd out, as ſince, for their perfidiouſneſs, concur with him, and condemn ſuch, *ſe pacem habere dicentes, & non ab Epiſcopo*, who ſaid they had their Peace from Heaven, and did not ask it by the Biſhops. I'le ſhut up this Section in the words of our learned Biſhop *Richard Montague*, *Orig. Eccl. Tom.* 1. *Pars Poſter. Sect.* 40. *Vere penitentes abſoluti per verbum Sacerdotis, aquè abſolvuntur ac ſi Angelus de Cœlo, Prophetа internuncius, imò ipſe Deus, diceret, Remittuntur tibi*

peccata

peccata tua. The truly Penitents, abſolved by the words of the Prieſt, are equally abſolved, as if an Angel from Heaven, with the Meſſage of a Prophet, even God himſelf ſhould ſay, *Thy ſins are forgiven thee.* Chap. 4.

§. xxxv. THE laſt inſtance of this ſpecial Power of the Prieſthood, is of ſubſtituting and deputing others in the ſame Power, for the like Services in the Church, and to ſupply their Mortality, to continue the Power in Succeſſion, till Chriſt's coming again. And 'tis what muſt be ſuppoſed in courſe, and is every ways as neceſſary, as 'tis evident, that our Saviour at firſt ſo deſign'd it, and the Apoſtles and Biſhops ever after have put it in practice, otherwiſe all Church-Officers muſt have died in the Perſons of the Apoſtles, and been buried in their Graves, a perpetual Oblivion been put upon them; or elſe, which alone could countervail, a new Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* come at each Ordination, the ſending forth every particular Perſon into the Miniſtry, or which is every ways as unlikely, the whole race of Biſhops be Cheats and Uſurpers, at every one of their Conſecrations, a private ſpirit of a particular incitation cannot avouch, or but recommend to a publick Profeſſion, or juſtifie the Undertakers; nor is there any other than one of the two ways, to be propoſed, or that can with any ſhew be pleaded; and the latter no man when conſidering, and in his wits, will lay claim unto; in purſuance of this it is we are told by *Euſebius*, that when St. *John* was return'd out of *Patmos*, upon the Death of *Domitian* the Tyrant, who had baniſh'd him thither, he betook him-

Chap. 4. himself to the neighbouring Provinces there, constituting or ordaining Bishops, setting whole Churches in order, and placing in the Ministry or lot of the Lord ἐν τοῖς τῷ πνεύματι δοκιμασθεῖσιν, such as either the Spirit of God pointed out unto him, or such whom he found suitably qualified with Spiritual Gifts, whether one or t'other, or both ways, his own sepolition or co-optation into the Office was over and above requir'd, *Eccl. hist. l.* 3. *cap.* 23. and the same course St. *Clemens*, an Apostolical Person in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* tells us all the Apostles used, καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν, &c. and our Apostles knowing by revelation through our Lord Jesus Christ, that contentions would arise about Episcopacy; and for this cause being imbued with perfect knowledge, they constituted approv'd men to be Bishops and Deacons, to these they gave Rules and Prescriptions and Power to continue the Succession, and that other approv'd men succeed in the place of such as dye, and receive their Office and Ministry; so that not only the matter of Fact, but the reason and necessity of it, that it must be so, is here declared; this Power is it thus to be propagated and carried on by transmission and devolution from hand to hand in the Succession, every one deriving it from his Predecessor, who was himself so visibly stated in the Power, otherwise no security of the Power at all, Contentions and Dissatisfactions would arise concerning Church Orders, and no test or rule left to sedate and compose them, the Priests of *Jeroboams* Order have equal Plea, as those of the Sons of *Aaron*, and

and every one that will may conſecrate him- Chap. 4.
ſelf; and which Succeſſion, if once viſibly and notoriouſly loſt, without a new Indentment and Miſſion in general, and upon a courſe of Miracles avouched; or elſe, a ſingle particular Miracle upon the head of every one when coming into theſe Offices, together with the hands there lay'd on, or what elſe ſoever it is they do unto him, all Church Power muſt fall to the ground; that there is in it any thing of Heaven cannot be made to appear to any particular Perſon. Mr. *Calvin* therefore when he firſt ſet up for a Lecturer at *Geneva*, having allow'd this Succeſſion quite loſt, and ſeemingly, at leaſt, lamenting of it, *Fateor optandum eſt ut valeret continua Succeſſio, ut functio ipſa quaſi per manus traderetur*, as is to be ſeen in his Epiſtle to the King of *Polonia*. And the ſame thing is done by his Succeſſor *Theodore Beza*, in his fifth Epiſtle to one *Alamannus*, and in his *Tractatus de Miniſt. Evang. Grad. cont. Saraviam, ad cap. 2. lib. 1*, finding their People muſt be at a loſs, and enquiring whence their publick Call and Miniſtry (as if they did not, they had reaſon enough for to do.) For vindicating themſelves, they there tell them, that they were immediately call'd and ſent by God extraordinarily commiſſioned, as were the Prophets and holy Men of old, *Abram*, *Moſes* and *Samuel*, as was Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, and that they came as ſignally into *Geneva* to reform it, as he did into the Temple, turning out the Money-changers and purging it, as were the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts. So *Calvin* in expreſs words, again,

Inſtitut.

Chap. 4. *Institut. lib. 4. cap. 3. Sect. 4. Alios tres, nimirum, Apostolos, Prophetas, Evangelistas, initio regni sui Dominus suscitavit, & suscitat etiam interdum prout temporum necessitas postulat.---- Quanquam non nego Apostolos postea quoq; vel saltem eorum loco Evangelistas interdum excitavit Deus, ut nostro tempore factum est, talibus enim qui Ecclesiam ab Antichristi defectione reducerent opus erat*, &c. and all this is what pure necessity, and the present distress put them upon: 'tis what was to follow in course, and by the same force of consequence, that one absurdity comes upon the neck of another, they had knock'd their own Bishop oth' head, and disown'd all other of the Christian world, in whom alone the Power of giving Orders was lodged, and to whose hands confined; and this so acknowledgedly, that *Calvin* and *Beza* themselves did not believe to be in any other on Earth besides, (that trick, that all Power was radically and virtually in the Presbyters Orders, was not then invented) and their pretended Power must be either of Man or from Heaven, there can be but one of these two ways proposed, the one failing the other must be introduced, otherwise there must be an universal failure of the Power it self; and therefore they are sent as was Christ Jesus, as were his Apostles and the Disciples in the *Acts*; and so necessary is it that *Calvin* still go for an Apostle, by all such as now claim a Succession from him. 'Tis soundly as well as wittily argued by the Author of those Questions and Answers going under the name of *Justin Martyr*, *Respons. ad Quest.* 78. *ad Orthodox*, the Child which was illegitimate by

by *Bathſheba* died. God would not have Chriſt deſcend in the Fleſh, but by ſuch as were born to *David* by lawful Marriage, his deſcent as the Son of *David*, was to be in the legally received way, and ſuch are to be his deſcents according to the Spirit, it is by a due and regular courſe and ſucceſſion he devolves and continues his Power amongſt us, is his Kingdom ſupported. And though there has been ſeveral caſes in Church Story, and Plea's and Bandyings about the validity of Ordinations, and ſome Irregularities as to Canon have been paſſed by, and the Ordination notwithſtanding, admitted; but yet where it plainly appear'd that the Perſon ordaining was no Biſhop himſelf, nor receiv'd that Power by a devolved Succeſſion, which he pretended to give to others; all debates preſently ended, the Ordination was, I cannot ſay, nulled and voided, becauſe declared to be none at all, as in the caſe of *Maximus Cynicus*, *Can.* 4. *Conc.* 2. *Gen. Conſtantinop.* for this it is *Socrates Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 1. *c.* 27. tells us, that *Iſchyras* was reputed worthy of many Deaths, πόλλων θανάτων ἄξιον, that having attained to no one degree of the Prieſthood, he durſt attempt to officiate in holy Things, no one Plea of Neceſſity, or Circumſtance whatever could gain a liberty for this, or but a connivance. In ſome caſes the Canons were diſpenſed with, and in time of Perſecutions Biſhops might attend and officiate in foreign Ordinations, and ſo they did, as we read in *Sozomen*, *Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 7. *cap.* the common ſafety and ſucceſſion of the Church was their great aym, and particular Rules

Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. Rules and Canons had no force in such cases. Thus we read *Can.* 2. *Conc.* 2. *Gen. Constantinop.* of some distant barbarous Countries, which had no Bishops planted among them, and there it was lawful for any Bishop to Ordain, that they could either procure, or of himself would take the pains. And so it appears also from *Can.* 102. *Conc. Carthag.* that several discerptions and regions there were, which had not their proper Bishops; and the same in all probability was the case of the Church of *Carthage*, an account of which we have from *Victor* in his History *De Persecutione Vandalorum*, *l.* 2. *pag.* 627. as bound up with the tripartite History, who tells us there was no Bishop there for twenty four years together, till *Zeno* the Emperor interposed with *Hunnericus* the King of the *Vandals*, who had invaded *Africa*, and *Eugenius* was consecrated their Bishop; and this the *London* Ministers have observ'd to our hands in their Divine right of the Evangelical Ministry, *cap.* 5. *pag.* 80. with what Zeal, and how many Miles some have travelled for Episcopal Ordination; and that our Neighbours in *Scotland* did not do the same, admitting what is pretended, that once they had only Presbyters among them, I could never yet meet with any thing to convince us. Sure I am their having none of their own, does not imply they used none, the instances above given refute a necessity of that, or if they did not, but consecrated one another, such as urge it a Pattern to all Christian Churches, ought first to have given the world Satisfaction, that it was not their imperfection, their guilt, and

and indeed Insolency and Usurpation in so doing: But when *Musæus* and *Eutichianus* who were no Bishops, had ordained, and *Gaudentius* the Bishop of the place, did contend to have their Ordinations valid and confirm'd, by that Synod, and gave the very same reason why it should be confirmed, because at that time Troubles and Seditions were many, and there seemed a necessity for what they had done, his Reasons were not accepted of; Necessity and other accidents do plead for, and excuse what is only uncanonical, but where want of Power in general, it does not. And *Hosius* that most Holy and Reverend Bishop stood up and publickly declared in the Council, that we ought indeed all to be quiet and meek, and to contend for it; but neither *Eutichianus* nor *Musæus* were Bishops, had any Power at all for what they pretended, and therefore their Consecration was invalid, and themselves were only to be admitted into Lay Communion; of all which who so pleases may have an account, *Can.* 18, 19. *Conc. Sardic.* with the *Scholia's* of *Balsamon* and *Zonaras*, and the Annotations of *William Beveridge*; these are certain Rules, *Habere namq; aut tenere Ecclesiam nullo modo potest, qui Ordinatus in Ecclesia non est*; he cannot any ways have or hold a Place in the Church, who is not ordained in the Church, *Cypr. Ep.* 76. *Sine successione Sacerdotum totus ordo cadit*, without a succession of Priests, the whole Order falls. St. *Jerome*, *lib.* 2. *adv. Lucifer. Tom.* 3. ἐπίλυσις ἡ μεσάδοσις τῆς διαδοχῆς ἢ ἀκολουθίας, where the Succession is cut off, a Communication of the Holy Ghost ceaseth, Chap. 4.

Can.

Chap. 4. *Can.* 1. St. *Basilii ad Amphilochium, apud Pandect. Can. Beveridg.*

§. XXXV. AND now I hope this Objection is fully answered, that the Church can be no Body separate and apart from the State, because no Powers and Officers of its own, nothing outward, sensible and coercive, and consequently with neither Rewards nor Penalties annexed, all must return into the Prince, or set up against the soveraignty of him, if at all and in being; for the Church's rise and original is sufficiently declared to be from another Fountain, its imbodying and incorporation to be apart, with its own Powers and Acts, Offices and Officers, Laws and Rules, Rewards and Penalties, Censures and Punishments, Hopes and Expectations. And all different from that of the Soveraign in the State, no ways against the either Power or Soveraignity of him, the influences distinct; but no ways so opposite to one another, as thwarting or destructive, *Fratres dicuntur & habentur qui unum Deum patrem agnoverunt, unum spiritum biberunt sanctitatis qui de uno utero ignorantiæ ejusdem ad unam lucem expaverunt veritatis*, as *Tertullian* describes the incorporation *Apol. cap.* 30. Christians are called and accounted Brethren who have acknowledged one God and Father, who have drank of one Spirit of holiness, who have broke through with astonishment one Womb of Ignorance, into one Light and Truth. I do not know how better to give an account of this Kingdom of Christ than in the answer of those Kindred of our Saviours to *Domitian* the Tyrant, related by *Eusebius Eccl. hist. l.* 3. *c.* 20.

Domitian

Domitian was afraid of Chriſt's Kingdom as *Herod* had been before him; he had the ſame apprehenſion that ſtill is in the World, derived from moſt excellent Preſidents *Herod* and *Domitian*, that Chriſt's Kingdom and *Cæſar*'s could not ſtand together; whereupon ſuch Chriſt's Kindred, were ſummoned and accuſed as of the ſtock of *David*; who upon demand, acknowledging they were ſo, and giving an account of their Meanneſs and Poverty as to this World, and ſhewing their hands which were hard and callous, with the aſſiduity of labour for a daily ſuſtenance, and not to be ſuſpected to be Invaders of the Kingdomes here, they were at length demanded concerning Chriſt and his Kingdom what the nature and quality of it was? and when, and in what places he was to appear? and to which they alſo anſwered, οὐκ ἔστι κοσμικὴ μὲν ἡ βασιλεία, ἐπουρανίου δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνει, ἥτις ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν αἰώνων γενησομένη, &c. that Chriſt's Kingdom is not of this world or earthy, but heavenly and Angelical; to be accompliſhed in the concluſion of Ages, when coming in Glory he ſhall Judge the living and the dead, and retribute to every one according to his works. Chap. 4.

§. xxxvi. IN the mean time, and till ſuch his Perſonal Appearance in Glory with outward Power and force, as well as ſplendor, to ſit viſibly as a Judge, and every one to receive in his Body, by way of Puniſhment what evil he hath done in the fleſh, to ſay his Power is none at all, becauſe not of the ſame quality, in the ſame form of Proceſs, and by ſenſible Awards, is to diſcourſe as thoſe that are equal-

Chap. 4. ly ignorant of the Reasons of such God's terrible Proceedings at the end of the World, that Fire and Brimstone in Hell, as they are of the nature of his Church and Association, its Rules and Laws and Discipline here on Earth. And our Saviour therefore and then personally and bodily afflicts for ever; because his Moral spiritual Laws, his Church Injunctions, so often urged, have been believed on these mens Principles, to be of no account, to have no edge or force, because no present destruction of the flesh, nothing sensible restraining or coercing, had they been received and obey'd, as in the design from God, such his fearful doom had never reached them: and to contend that the Ecclesiastical Church Power is now none at all because not such as at that great Day, or not the same as of a secular Judge at an Assize, to send to Prison, Whip, or put to Death; is with the same Argument to contend, that there is no force or obligation in any one, or all the Gospel moral Precepts either, whose utmost return, by way of outward Penalty upon such as receiv'd them not, was to cast off the dust of their Shoes upon them; As the Seventy we know were by our Saviour alone enjoyn'd, who had neither Whips or Axes Goals nor Gallows committed unto them, who could only deny them the advantage of the Gospel which themselves refused, when it was Preached unto them. To say Church Power can be none at all upon this score, is to deny all Evangelical Power, for present Judgment is not there speedily executed, and the Law of Love and Virtue are alike precarious, and

of no Autority and Juriſdiction that's engaging, as are the Laws Eccleſiaſtical, if their reaſon be good they give againſt the latter; becauſe voluntary in the ſubmiſſion to, and acceptance of them, and no one is forced, except he pleaſe, to covenant at firſt; or if he does covenant, he's as much free from all outward force, whether he pleaſed or not, to put his part in practice, he may renounce and reſcind it at his liberty. Surely no Cords tye, no Irons bind, like thoſe that enter into the Soul, whether it be by Love or Fear, by Puniſhments or Rewards, by the Comforts and Hopes of the one, or the Terrors and Conſternations of the other; a wounded Conſcience who can bear? its burdens are inſupportable, and which comes not by Weights and Engines, inventions of Man, preſſing and over-powering (and according to the Principles of theſe men there can be no other) but by reflex actions, and a ſenſe of non-performance of Duty, and the horrid black guilt annexed, from a ſenſe of that loſs, which like the Conſcience it ſelf is ſpiritual, and which over-bears and over-rules, very oft to the neglecting of the fleſh, to the undergoing any Tortures and Cruciatings of the Body, as we know deſpairing Perſons do; when, as with *Eſau*, the Bleſſing is ſought, and 'tis too late, there's no room for Repentance; but which is not the firſt and immediate puniſhment and burden, and ſurely a ſence of Duty performed; and the Expectations of a good man are no leſs binding on the other ſide, engage and tye the Soul, that is not ſeared with an hot iron, is ſenſible and conſidering; Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. and he that believes and is fully poſſeſſed, that without the Pale of the Church, if not a Member of this Body and Aſſociation, as above deſcribed, there is no Goſpel advantages here, nor life hereafter, no other way revealed to us by God in his Word to follow and adhere unto; he needs no other Motive and Bond, for his keeping within this Pale, for his ſubmiſſion to the Laws and Diſcipline of it; and if any one does not believe it, he is to be dealt with, as thoſe are, that ſay the flames of Hell are painted alſo, that deny the reality and truth of thoſe eternal Puniſhments: and 'tis the great folly of thoſe men who firſt ſuppoſe there can be no Aſſociation but by outward ties, and then upon this begg'd Principle of their own, conclude againſt this of the Church, and which is only ſpiritual. The ſum of this Section is this, if the Church on Earth has no Power, becauſe no outward coercion, neither has any one inſtance of the Goſpel; if theſe Men's reaſons conclude any thing. And Mr. *Hobbs* is to be done thus much right in the caſe, that he ſpeaks ſo like an Honeſt man, that is to one that is true to his Principles; and all along aſſerts, That "the New Teſtament is "only Canonical and Law, as made ſo by "the Civil Magiſtrate; and to ſay it is a "Law in any place, where the Law of the "Common-wealth has not made it ſo, is "contrary to the Nature of a Law; and "more particularly, as to the preſent point "in hand, that the Decrees of the Council "at *Jeruſalem*, Acts 15. 28. were no more "Laws, than are thoſe other Precepts, *Re-*

"*pent,*

" pent, *be Baptized, keep the Commandments,* Chap. 4.
" *believe the Gospel, come unto me, sell all that*
" *thou hast, give it to the Poor, and follow me*;
" which are not Commandments, but Invi-
" tations and Callings of Men to Christiani-
" ty,——the Kingdom which they acknow-
" ledged, and to which they invited, being
" not present but to come; and they that
" have no Kingdom, can make no Laws; nor
" did any sin in not receiving the Doctrines
" of Christ. All which is to be read with
more to the same purpose in his *Levia-*
than, Part 3. cap. 42. *Of Power Ecclesia-*
stical.

NOR are they less out of the way, when §. XXXVII.
arguing, that this Power of the Church must of necessity clash with that of the State, and oppose the Soveraignty of Princes; for there is no outward Execution in a form of justice, can be supposed as from Christ; whatever of that Nature is, is from the other secular Fountain, till Christ Jesus appears himself at the Day of Judgment; no Personal compulsive Summons from him, till to that great Bar; and all earthy Power, and Dominion and Magistracy, is to submit and appear to his Jurisdiction; because to be at an end, to be deposed by God himself, ripe as a sheaf of Wheat lay'd up in the Barn, with its due, just and designed Period and Completion, and then this Kingdom of Christ also shall be delivered up to the Father, that God may be all in all, they are both as to continue upon Earth, so to end together, but neither destroying one another, and the alone Council and Pleasure of the Almighty makes the disso-

Chap. 4. lution, and which as the ſenſe of the Primitive and firſt Chriſtians is cleer, by the account that is given of the Kindred of our Saviour in the above-mentioned place of *Euſebius*, of the conſtant courſe of their Tribute, out of the aſſiduity of their labour, and lower condition in the World, they pay'd unto *Cæſar*, no one relation to Chriſt, as not of the Fleſh, ſo nor of the Spirit, either as Men or Chriſtians, giving but any ſhew of Title unto the Government that is Civil, or of exemption from any one Tax or Impoſition by that Government laid upon them, a Truth that has been opened, illuſtrated and deduced down through this Diſcourſe, and in ſome competent meaſure, ſo as to ſatisfie upon a rational enquiry, and it may be farther cleer'd up, and rendred more eaſie and convincing yet, to a due underſtanding, if the ſeveral acts and offices of this Body the Church be reſum'd again in their diſtinct Conſiderations; and it will farther appear, that theſe Powers, as they never have in Matter of Fact, ſo in their Nature and Conſtitution, they do not any ways impinge upon, much leſs ſilence and depoſe, any ways juſtle with and uſurp, thoſe Powers that are Secular; let us run them over, as in their order already ſet down.

§. xxxviii. THE firſt inſtance of their Union and Aſſociation is in their Articles of Faith, joyning and conſenting together in this belief, that Jeſus is the Chriſt, and which makes the Chriſtians a Sect, ſever'd, diſtinct and apart from all others. The ſum indeed of all the Goſpel, as Mr. *Hobbs* with great induſtry and pains

pains does collect and prove, and 'tis what is own'd by him as reconcileable with our obedience to the civil Magistrate, be he Christian, or Infidel; for their Faith is internal and invisible, as he goes on and tells us, they have the license that *Naaman* had, and need not put themselves into danger for it, *Leviathan*, *Part* 3. *cap.* 43. or admitting farther, and which Christianity surely obliges to, that publick Professions of this Faith are to be made, (and for this the several Creeds, as the Apostles, &c. were drawn up, open Confessions of them were made, and Subscriptions to them, to the incurring of danger from the Civil Power) they only hereby engag'd themselves to suffer, to dye, and become in that signal manner Martyrs and Witnesses for and of them at the stake, but never so to oppose, as to rebel, in the defence and maintenance of them; there was nothing there believed and professed, or from any other Obligation or Contract that did engage them so to do. Chap. 4.

THEY next covenanted against Sin and Iniquity, Murder, Fraud, Perfidiousness, &c. and was of old and is still, a particular Act of this Christian Body or Association, as in the Covenant at Baptism; nor is any one any farther a Christian than he performs it: and this cannot by Malice it self be termed a covenanting against the Prince, or his Power. None are indeed and throughly good Subjects but such as are good Christians; thus vow, and pay. Evil manners abate of a just sense and Conscience of Justice and Honesty; the Prince cannot have of such men so full a § xxxix.

Chap. 4. ſecurity of their due and true Allegiance and Fidelity to him; why ſhould they be more true to him than they are to their God? and beſides, they expoſe the Government to his Wrath and Vengeance. And 'tis not upon this account the late Solemn League and Covenant, was adjudged by the publick Autority of the Nation to be injurious to the State, as ingaging to Repentance, and to be burnt by the common Hangman.

§. XL. A farther inſtance of this Aſſociation is, an aſſembling and joyning together in the Publick Service of God, in thoſe offices of Chriſtianity which belong to all in common; as in the Duties of Prayer, Praiſes, Lauding with one Mouth, and Praiſing God for all his Mercies to Mankind, and to themſelves in particular, this is a Church Office which muſt endure ſo long as the Sun and Moon, as there is a Church, a Body, or Collection of men upon Earth profeſſing Chriſtianity; if Publick Prayers and Praiſes ceaſe, the Church, the People of God muſt ceaſe; particular Chriſtians may be confined and incapacitated in the Performance; and where one is, though with *Jeremy* in the Dungeon, or where two or three are met together, God will be with them; but the daily Sacrifice cannot wholly be aboliſhed till Days and Nights are no more; ſhould I ſay they are to be longer, and to remain in Heaven, it were not amiſs, to be ſure the Praiſes will, and why not the Prayers? ſo far at leaſt as a ſignal acknowledgment of our dependency upon God, the Perfection of that State, and full growth we there arrive unto, does not inveſt us with any

any of thoſe firſt and neareſt of God's attri- Chap. 4.
butes, and which are therefore call'd incommunicable, as peculiar to his Eſſence, and particularly thoſe of Self-exiſtency and Independency, his Autarchy and All-ſufficiency, and which Duties, if diſcharged, as required by God on Earth, imply and enjoyn our acknowledgment and obedience, as to our God, ſo to our Prince, in his diſtinct relations to us, and that by all the ties and obligations, the performance of ſo ſolemn a Duty, as Prayer and Praiſes are, can lay upon us, leaſt found perfidious Hypocrites, and unfaithful to our God, as all that are falſe to their King in the long run will appear ſo to God Almighty: the very Form and Nature of our Prayers and Praiſes run ſo; that therein we are firſt to Pray and give Thanks for Kings, and there, and in that moſt ſolemn manner, own them, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2, 3. a Rebbel cannot ſay his Prayers at all, but in the very action publiſh himſelf a Rogue, if ſaying them as St. *Paul* has appointed, ſo *as acceptable to God our Saviour*. 'Tis true this Duty is not with the ſame Circumſtances performed as are the two former, it requires perſonal local uniting, and which if without the Permiſſion of the Prince, may be termed Sedition or Riot, or, if againſt his Commands, Rebellion; or whatever criminal Characters the preſent Laws put upon ſuch like Conventions; the firſt Chriſtians therefore, when under thoſe harder Neceſſities, by the ſeverer Edicts of the Heathen Emperors, went ſtill to pray out of the Cities, met before day and in the Woods; and when diſcovered and impleaded,

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Chap. 4 'twas alone the great and tried innocency of both their Religion and Persons was their advocate and rescue, as in the days of *Trajan* the Emperor, who occasioned particular search to be made into them, and such their Assemblies, or else they did it with more privacy, abating of their Numbers in particular Meetings, as less discerned; or if discerned, less offensive and obnoxious, not so liable to jealousies of State, and suspitions; or if this did not do, and gain a connivance, as many times it did not, they then became Martyrs and Suffer'd, whether by Confiscation of Goods or Banishment of their Persons, by the Prison or Death, as they were appointed to it, and engaged to undergo, for their Faith it self, and the Profession of Christianity; there was no Pleas for exemptions of their Persons from such the Laws, because Christians, as if beyond their inspection, and above their Punishments. And St. *Cyprian Ep.* 7. blames particular Christians, that when under interdict, return'd home again without the leave of that Government by which exiled, *Et deprehensi jam, non quasi Christiani, sed quasi nocentes, pereant*, as bringing guilt with such their Punishments on their Heads; there was no other strivings, or struglings in the Streets, unless for their last Breath, when upon the Racks, and by other Cruelties. As their case was every ways like that of the Prophet *Daniel*, so was their behaviour too, and the most open inhibition, and most severe, as to Penalties, must not cease the daily Sacrifice and Praises of God Almighty, they still own'd their Religion and their God

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its Author, and ſo they did their Prince in his due Subordination; praying with ſuch their laſt Breath for him. There was no Arms, nor one Shield of the Mighty, but Prayers and Tears; and the late Field Conventicles and Rendevouzes of Rebellion were in thoſe days unheard of. Chap. 4.

§. XLI. THAT theſe Chriſtians by a common Shot or Purſe maintain'd their own Poor, carries no more exception or oppoſition, than do any other acts of Charity, in what Body or Aſſociation whatever, and of which this perhaps, of the Chriſtians, was the moſt eminent that ever was in the World. Charity we know falls under no other Law than that of St. *Paul*, that every one give as his God has proſper'd him, readily and of a willing mind; nor is it, can it be, againſt any Law, any ways blame-worthy, when fixed on due ends and objects, when deſign'd for, and diſpended on, only the Poor and Indigent; but when preferr'd to and juſtling out of doors acts of Juſtice and Equity, when ſet up and practiſed againſt, always neceſſary and immutable Duties, and againſt which theſe Chriſtians always provided, their own Fulminations, or Church-cenſures, by way of Penance, and correction ſtill proceeded upon any defect or perverſer deſign diſcovered, and 'twas their abhorrency; and ſo ought the Secular Power to animadvert, and proceed in its courſes of Reſtraint, Coercion, Seizures, Confiſcations, or whatever is the ways and Methods the preſent Government in ſuch caſes inſtructs and enables them to. Though where the Church is in the Common-wealth, as

Chap. 4 as it is now, that the Civil Polity is Christian; this case cannot so usually fall out, as it did before the days of *Constantine*, a common maintenance being provided for such by Law, and the case as to the general, is now none at all.

§. XLII. NOR doth that other Publick maintenance of such as laboured among them in the Word and Doctrine, carry in it self any more of Encroachment or Usurpation, or but suspition of Danger, on the Powers of the World, then that other just now mentioned; and which was their pure Charity, and a thorow incapacity for subsistence otherways induced to it; for this Contribution for their Clergy was purely voluntary, what every one of his own motion brought in, and lay'd at the Apostles feet; *was it not thine own?* and *in thine own Power?* as St. *Peter* argues with *Ananias* on the like occasion, no motives from Christianity tend to any thing of force, or lay any outward Coercion, as not to the Persons, so nor on the Estates of any; their Goods are equally their own, as are all their other lawful Rights and Properties, after their coming in to be Christians as before; every man is to abide in that calling, state or advantage as to this World, in which he was called, if not sinful; 'twas their own hands and hearts did offer and dedicate their Goods to the Service of the Church; they still remain'd in their own Power, and they might, for any restraint as to their Profession, or relating to any such particular Church Endowments, use them, as all men may their own, to what end they please; if not to the

the prejudice of their Prince, or their Neighbour. And so far were these first Christians and their Church Contributions and religious Enfeoffments from being suspected of bringing dammage, or but any one incommodiousness to either, that I do not remember any one thing like a charge of that nature, drawn up against them for it; though great Sums of Money were brought in to this purpose, and the Church had great Possessions in the time of the Heathen Emperors, and which the Empire confirmed sometimes to the Church, by its Princely Edicts; as *Aurelius* did in particular in the case of *Paulus Samosetanus*, and which is above-mentioned; or if at any time they were suspected, as by their Apologies and Remonstrances in their own behalf it may be inferr'd, and their Church-Houses and Gardens, their Patrimony alone might be their Crime, as what too usually falls out; nor was they altogether free from violences, as appears by the Restaurations made by *Constantine*, at his Possession of the Empire: and which is also above noted; they then not only made publick such their Protestations, but their Practice too, to the contrary, and which avouched and vindicated their innocency. So *Justin Martyr*, in his Apology to *Antoninus* for the Christians, θεὸν μόνον προσκυνῶμεν, βασιλεῖς δὲ ἄρχοντας ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογοῦντες, καὶ εὐχόμενοι, we only Worship God, confessing Kings and Governors of Men; and praying for them. So again *Athenagoras* in his Embassy for the Christians, εἴ τις ἐλέγχειν ἡμᾶς ἔχει, &c. and if it so falls out that we are accused, as doing injustice to any more Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. or leſs, we refuſe not to be puniſh'd; we are worthy of it in the higheſt Nature. And *Juſtin Martyr* again in his Epiſtle *ad Diognetum*, ſpeaks of the Chriſtians in general πείθονται τοῖς διατεταγμένοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους, they obey their appointed Laws, and by their exacter Lifes and ſtricter Converſations, go beyond the Laws, ſupererogate and are more perfect than their Rules require, or Sanctions enjoyn them. To which I'le add that of *Octavius* to *Cecilianus* in *Minutius Felix*, *De noſtro numero carcer exæſtuat, Chriſtianus ibi nullus eſt niſi aut reus ſuæ Religionis aut Profugus*; your Priſons ſwarm, the Walls will ſcarce contain them; but there is no Chriſtian, unleſs Runawaies, and Deſertors of their Religion; and when we aſſert the divine Right of Titles, and that God himſelf aſſigned and ſeparated ſuch a Portion of the goods of the Earth for the maintenance of the Evangelical Prieſthood alſo, and which Sanction is to endure together with the Kingdom, and to take away this is to rob God, we do not then maintain them with any ſuch Clauſe in the Charter or Conveyance, warranting and enabling a forcible violent Entry, as in the uſual caſes of Right and Property upon diſpoſſeſſion; that Power St. *Paul* ſpeaks of, as to Eat and to Drink not, to work with our hands, but to live upon the Goſpel, and which we believe to deſcend with the Goſpel, is together with holy Orders inveſted in him, is quite another thing, and neither implies nor ſuppoſes Power like it; it is bottomed only on the Grounds and Reaſons of our Aſſociation, nor has it any other motives

tives but thoſe which make us Chriſtians, Chap. 4.
and which did not at all depend on outward force. Hence it was, till the world came into the Church, that the Prieſthood was maintained by what every one offer'd, upon the forementioned inducements; and as he that denied this maintenance to him that ſerved at the Altar, was ſuppoſed ſtill to deny withal his Faith, and place in the Body of Chriſtians; and ſuitably is it with the greateſt equity and proportion of things, ſtill the continued Practice of the Chriſtian Courts, to Excommunicate or cut off ſuch an one from the Church Communion; ſo neither could they which ſaw no reaſon why themſelves ſhould become Chriſtians, be ſuppoſed to be convinced, by other reaſons, of the neceſſity of maintaining thoſe who claimed no other right for the maintenance, than their Preaching and Publiſhing ſuch that Religion. And therefore when upon with-holding of Tithes, or the Churches Revenue, we proceed farther than Excommunication, to Perſonal Confinement; or whatever outward reſtraint, we have no Warrant or Power for this, but from the Prince, and the Laws of the Land alone enable us to do it. 'Tis true, to have a Body or Government in it ſelf diſtinct and apart from that which is Secular, and with its own obligations for maintenance, which way ſoever it ariſes, but more eſpecially when from ſo prevailing a motive and engagement, as that which makes men Chriſtians, and entitles them to Eternity, to have their own bank or ſtock, to what ends or on what Perſons ſoever erogated and expended,

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Chap. 4. it matters not, whether on their Poor, or on their Clergy, (to which add the Power to assemble for religious Worship, upon the same Considerations) is what may carry some appearance for Suspitions and Jealousies from the State, and advantages are possible to be taken for undermining and overthrowing of it, upon each occasion; a Government, indeed, ought to be watchful, and jealous in such Cases; Premunires, Eschetes and Confiscations, are but due and equitable Provisions, as by Law assigned; that surely is a very unsafe Rule, I find among other as bad, laid down by Mr. *Dean* in his Sermon, in a case not very unlike to this in hand, *He that acknowledges himself to derive all his Autority from God, can pretend to none against him.* Unless wee'l suppose there can be no Cheats nor Hypocrites, double dealings in the World; or that a power or trust duely received, cannot be abused and estranged; such as designedly Act against God, pretend mostly to his Autority, and often have it really in them. And the truth is, nothing but the peculiar constitution of this Christian Body or Incorporation, could have then by any one been permitted, as it was by some before *Constantine*, or now be pleaded for, whose humble, innocent, peaceable temper and complexion, as above described, was so undoubted and notorious, in every instance experienced, whose very offence was obedience, whose design of making good Christians, was to make them good Subjects; the very Plot of the Gospel was in part this, that Government be every ways preserved and entire, administring new motives

Motives and Arguments for it, and that Princes if poſſible be more Sovereign and Glorious thereby; whatever the Goſpel Preaches and Commands is all along with a juſt regard, and even ſubordination to it, But then again ſince thus it is by the Bleſſings and Providence of God, that Kings and Queens themſelves are become Nurſing Fathers and Mothers of the Church, ſince our Church Doors are ſet wide open by their command, our Revenues in our hands, at the publick diſpoſal of our Biſhops, to which is ſuperadded their own Royal Bounty and Endowments, together with more from the Piety of others their Subjects, and eminent Chriſtians among us, and all by Law Eſtabliſhed and Confirmed unto us, as the reſt of our Tenures; ſtill to plead the example of the Primitive Chriſtians, who were under no one of theſe Advantages, to keep a part in diſtinct Aſſemblies, to make Privy Purſes and Fonds, brings ſuch as practiſe it under as great a ſuſpicion of Hypocriſie, and private ill-laid deſigns as thoſe firſt Chriſtians were notorious for their integrity when ſo doing and unſuſpected; not only that Government under which they live, but all good Chriſtians have ground enough for jealouſie of their underhand, indirect purpoſes, to implead and ſeize on the one hand, and to admoniſh and cenſure on the other, as Delinquents; no one conſideration of State can countervail the Damage, a toleration or connivance of ſuch may bring unto it; nothing can juſtifie the Practice it ſelf, but that alone which was pleaded by the Primitive Chriſtians, Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. ſtians, and was their real caſe; that the Aſſociation and Aſſemblies of Chriſtians, for the Profeſſion and Service of the Goſpel muſt ceaſe and fall without ſo doing; that Chriſtianity it ſelf cannot otherwiſe ſtand, and which our ſuppoſal overthrows, as to any ſuch Pleas now adays; nor indeed dare any of our Diſſenters openly ſay it.

§. XLII. THAT the Clergy alone preſide in their ſeveral Diſtricts is no more prejudicial to Government in State than any of the other, and which will appear from their Offices there performed, as to be the Mouth in Prayer and Thankſgiving; and which is already conſider'd, to Catechize, Teach and Inſtruct the People, and admoniſh them in the ways to Heaven, by Virtue, and the inſtances of all ſorts of Obedience, as indiſpenſably required, and nothing but a thorow after-repentance, and amendment upon failure, will regain the Inheritance forfeited; and I le take it to be only an ill Phraſing or inconſideration in the Expreſſion, when *Preaching the Goſpel*, in the due ſenſe of it, in oppoſition *to a falſe Religion*, whether by an *extraordinary Commiſſion and juſtified by Miracles*; or as ordinary Paſtors of the Church, (for 'tis all one as to the Goſpel it ſelf, which is the ſame which way ſoever Preached) is ſaid to be an *affront* and *contempt* to the *Magiſtracy and Law*. As again in Dr. *Tillotſon's* Sermon, it being quite contrary, and to Preach Chriſt crucified, is to honour, profeſs and maintain whatever is in Magiſtracy and Law; nor is it truely Preached, but when in a due dependency upon them: And if the

Jeſuites

Jeſuites practice be otherwiſe, and he depoſes Kings to propagate his Faith, Mr. *Dean*'s Obſervation ought there to have been limited and fixed; and not to have drawn ſo univerſal a Rule, ſo notoriouſly making way for the ſilencing the Goſpel for ever; if a falſe Religion be once by Law in that particular Kingdom or Nation, or if to be imagined, over the whole World eſtabliſhed, becauſe no way ſuppoſed to publiſh it, but by the affront and contempt of the *Magiſtracy and Law*; but this is too uſual a courſe of too many in the world, who if they can but ſhew their Zeal, and produce a preſent popular Argument againſt a Jeſuit, they conſider not the common Chriſtianity which is moſt certainly deſtroy'd by it; as indeed all Church Power on this ſuppoſal is gone; nor ought it to be pretended to amongſt the pureſt and moſt Catholick Profeſſors (I might ſay, there can be no Profeſſors at all) which have no more *extraordinary Commiſſions*, nor are they any other ways *juſtifiable by Miracles*, than we believe the Jeſuits; and ſure we are to boot, that Men of theſe Principles will never invade the offices of an Apoſtle or Evangeliſt, to go forth and convert Nations, be firſt Setlers of the Goſpel among them. The other inſtances of this Power, is to adminiſter the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lords Supper; the one admits and enters into this Body upon the terms of the Goſpel, and farther engages by that Vow and Stipulation there contracted in order to a ſecure Performance; The other accepts of, owns, confirms and revives it. So oft as we approach Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. that Holy Table, and no Justice of Peace in the Parish ever yet suspected that his Pastor, when officiating in these Administrations entred into, and laid the grounds of a Plot or Engagement against his but confined and lesser Jurisdiction in the County. These Protestations, Covenants and Engagements were never concluded Illegal, nor such their practice, State Usurpations.

§. XLIV. THE Censures of the Church are injunctions laid upon her Members, either by way of Discipline only, in order to a better progress and more expedite increase of holiness, or by way of Penance, Mulcts and Amerciaments upon failures; but neither of these do externally compel or lay confinements upon the Persons of any, any otherwise than by their own intendments and voluntary submission, and whatever more their refusal or perverser obstinacy does provoke, is only Excommunication, or a cutting off from the benefit of that Indenture, and which cuts asunder no one relation, either of Servant to his Master, Husband to his Wife, Father to his Son, Subject to his Prince, and so back again, or one Friend to another; takes away no one Privilege that is Secular, and all ties and compacts, whether from Nature, or by After-obligations, remain as before; Christianity dissolves no one that was lawful when entertained, but adds more nerves and strength, greater force and bonds unto them, by new Arguments, Motives and Rewards, and leaves all in the state they were in before, only makes sure provision for Heaven. Nor are those Rules and particular Observancies for

for holy living, and satisfaction injoyn'd by the Confessor, to take any Place, to have any force upon the Penitent or Candidates Conscience, if the Performance be inconsistent with, and thwarts any one Duty, by any one of the forementioned relations arising, if common-fidelity, Justice, or Charity be excluded thereby in any one instance of them, or any be contracted against humane Converse and Society. And the tenth Canon of the Apostles forbids to Pray with an excommunicate Person, but permits to have converse with him; the less is still to submit to the greater obligation: And the World with its Necessities, I, and Conveniencies too, is always considered; there can be no compensations which infers omissions in another kind, especially where the Duty neglected is more obliging; nor is the Arrearage paid by a differing Debt contracted. And by the like Rules also is Excommunication it self to be limited, upon the very same terms has it its assigned force and efficacy; and which, as of it self, neither invests with, nor deprives of any earthy Goods, any one instance of Wealth, Power or Dominion; so is it to be executed alone in compliance with the Necessities of Mankind, with those Laws of that Body and Society to which, as Men, they stand related; this Discipline cannot it be either a *Contempt or Affront to the Magistracy or Law*; and then too, when all this is, as it ought to be, duly observed, as to these generals, a great deal is left to the prudence and discretion of the Instrument, 'tis pursued only on rational Grounds and Motives, and Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. the effect to be considered, with the best foresight, which, as is already shew'd, is not always immediate and irresistible; the advantage or disadvantage is to be weigh'd, whether as to particular Persons, or as to Publick. And therefore this instance of the Power of the Keys, though deputed to every one that is ordain'd a Presbyter; yet by Church Laws and usuage, upon Prudence and Prediscernment, the execution is limited, and the Bishop only has it, or some other in special deputation from him, to that particular purpose, and since the Empire became Christian, the Laws of it have prescribed, and gave limits to the Bishops themselves, as to Persons, and the reasons of their Excommunications, and which the Church in good Ages of it did own and comply with. There were many other notorious offenders in the Church of *Corinth*, and deserved St. *Paul*'s Animadversions too, as well as that one incestuous *Corinthian*, who alone was there Excommunicated by him. *Longè aliter ista, longè aliter vitiosa curanda & sananda est multitudo*; but the proceeding against a multitude is to be of another Nature, than that against one single notorious Sinner; a Schism may be occasioned, and the Wheat be pull'd up with so many Tares, and instead of curing the Distemper it spread farther; as St. *Austin*, *Tom. 7. Post. Collat. lib. cont. Donatist. cap.* 20. and we read in *Socrates* his Church History, *l. 4. cap.* 23. of one *Arsenius*, that he never did exercise his Discipline upon, and separate from their Society; a Monk that was a Novice, and not of much continuance in the Fraternity, though he

he might for his offences deserve it; and his reason is, that the utmost course or excommunication, might render such an one but the more obstinate; 'twas only those that had experienced the advantage of their Communion for a good while, would be sensible of the loss, be apprehensive of the sorrow and burden of it; and that all Excommunications were not to take effect, in the first times of the Church, we have *Origen* for an example, who when excommunicated by *Demetrius*, with the assistance of other Bishops, continued still a Presbyter, and publickly associated as such. And *Valesius annot. in Eusseb. hist. l. 6. c. 23.* gives these two Reasons for it, because his Sentence was denounced when absent, and he had not legal Citations, and it was not confirmed by the Bishop of *Rome*; though to me a more probable reason may be given than either, for the illegality of the proceeding and the no effect it had, the ancient Canons of the Church still forbidding any one of the hieratical Order, whether Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon, to be excommunicated. Excommunication was the Punishment for the Laity; the Clergies was Deposition; nor were the Clergy subject to the other, till removed from the Priesthood. And certainly then much less can it be conceived in reason, and as agreeable with the common courses of foresight and discretion, that other things are managed in the Gospel with, that this Ordinance should on such terms be instituted and put in execution as to reach Kings themselves, and with less regard and consideration, than to Persons in Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. Holy Orders, and be concluded more peremptorily and immediately to take effect upon them, as if inconveniences, and that over-ballance whatever the propoſed advantage may be, may not here be a conſequent alſo. Princes, 'tis true, are equally ſubject to the Laws of Chriſt and his Church, and they muſt come to Heaven in the ſame Path that the meaneſt of their Subjects do come in; they are to be urg'd and taught publickly, as are others, and particularly in private, and where due opportunity to be ſeverely warned of; but then upon a ſuppoſed failure to proceed to an open publick Excluſion; this, if in any one inſtance elſe, ought firſt to be weigh'd and conſider'd, whether it be likely to have due effect, to be for the good of the Church in general, which his outward arm alone can protect? and whether inſtead of reducing him as to his Perſon, it may not much more harden him, and eſpecially ſince his Perſon falls under no farther Coercion, than his engagements to Chriſtianity lay upon him. Examples of Kings are ſtrangely influential and prevailing, and whether a greater deluge of Prophaneneſs may not be let in by ſo doing? or again, whether the expoſing him to ſhame and contumely, would not withal expoſe his reputation to the contempt of his People; and thus not only Religion and Morality, but the outward Peace and Quiet of the Realm might be expoſed to danger, and the both Church and State be liable to inrodes and violence thereby, we believe it to be what was appointed by God, and ſuppoſed by

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our Saviour, in the lay and frame of our Chriſtianity, that the Secular Power receive no abatement; but on the contrary, every of its Prerogatives be ſtrengthen'd, by its ſpreading over and reception in the World. Since every other relation is to continue and be obliging, ſo alſo muſt this of Kings, which came into the World with the firſt, is connate and coævous with Paternity, the Foundation was laid for both at once, and Kings and Subjects are to remain ſo long as Fathers and Children, the race of Mankind is on Earth continued; and ſuitably to this firſt contrivance, no ſooner did the Empire come in to the Church, and engage in Chriſtianity, but Emperors declared themſelves, and the Church joyfully receiv'd them for its Nurſing Father, and the Prince is the Supreme Governor there, the Laws and Judicatures are the Kings, and our Biſhops give Citations in their own Names, but by an antecedent Power derived from, and by the Prince devolved unto them. And the Biſhops of old, were ſo far from aſſuming to themſelves any ſuch outward Coercive Power, as to make Citations of mens Perſons, to proceed by Court Proceſs and Penal Mulcts, that when they laid the Plot for Lay-Deputies, Chancellors, Commiſſaries, Officials, or whatever title they went under, to ſit in their Courts, and give occaſional Judgments (for what private reaſons I cannot tell, but the pretended is this, that it was leſs decent that they being Spiritual Perſons ſhould mingle themſelves in Secular Affairs.) they could not conſtitute ſuch Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. ſuch their Deputies, nor erect ſuch an Order, but by a ſpecial Grant and Seal from the Emperor (a firm Argument that the Power was not originally theirs) and they ſuitably ſupplicate him in order to it, and he yields to their demand, but gives a Caution that the Church be not dammaged thereby, a thing in courſe to be ſuſpected; and perhaps the advantage the Church has ſince had, that the Courts for her Juſtice are the Biſhops, and her Cauſes fall not immediately under a Secular Cognitor, are ſo little and inconſiderable, that though the firſt Piety and royal Indulgence is apparent; yet the preſent benefit is hardly diſcernible at this day among us, *Vid. Cod.* 16. *Theodoſ. Tit.* 2. *l.* 38. and the Story is to be ſeen at large in the Commentaries of *Jacob Gothofred* upon that Law. And can we now with any ſhew of Reaſon ſuppoſe that in the deſign of our Saviour, and the execution of Church Power, no regard is to be had to the Prince, and that Proceedings are to be alike as upon other Perſons and promiſcuouſly, though all ſo far under the ſame Circumſtances, as equally Members of the ſame Aſſociation for Heaven? Thoſe rules of Policy which were contrived, complyed with, and ſubmitted to in the firſt planting the Goſpel, ſeem not conſiſtent with ſuch an after-practice, a Presbyter was not to be Excommunicated till firſt depoſed, and yet then ſhall each ſingle Presbyter Excommunicate his Prince? I do not ſay till depoſed, as was by the ancient Canons the Presbyter to be, and then Excommunicated, for that is what no Power on Earth can do, and the

the Church of God never pretended to it, Chap. 4.
'twas what ſhe always abhorred; but that the Conſiderations muſt needs weigh more, and be much rather cogent; that the cenſure go not out againſt a Prince, and greater inconveniences muſt hence follow, whatever they were the ancient Church did apprehend to be a conſequent to the other, and the common foreſight of things could not alſo allow it. The ſingle *Corinthian* was Excommunicated by St. *Paul*, when the whole Body of them, each one full of iniquity had not the like Animadverſions from him; and what may not be connived at in him who is more than ten thouſand? and by which there is leſs Security that the edge of the cenſure will not be more abated and dulled thereby? in whom is all Strength and Power, in whoſe hand it is to expoſe all to the malice and violence of the Enemy, to reduce the Church ſo near to the firſt ſtate under the Heathens, and which condition, though it is rather to be hazarded, then to comply with and imbody into us any thing that is ſinful, even to gain a Protection for other inſtances of Virtue and Duty; yet nothing but that which ſtrikes at Religion it ſelf, will ingage or be a Warrant to proceed in this extreme, utmoſt way upon him, whoſe alone is the outward Coercive Power, and who can weild his Sword at pleaſure, deny the Church that ſupport, countenance and aſſiſtance, which our Saviour deſigned Religion ſhould outwardly flouriſh under, be in ſome reſpects propagated and preſerved by, become more notoriouſly viſible and conſpicuous to all Nations. And what

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Chap. 4. is said of Excommunication and other Church censures, is to be said of Absolution, which though a Power enstated alone in the Priesthood by Christ; yet is not to be executed in an Arbitrary way, and that not only as to the Laws of Christ, but the Laws of Kingdoms also, in many cases, especially where Christian. I'le end this Section and Head of Discourse in the words of our Learned Dr. *Hammond* in his Book of the Power of the Keys, *Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 1. "The Power of "binding and loosing, is only an Engine of "Christ's invention to make a Battery or "impression upon the obdurate Sinner, to "win him to himself, to bless not triumph "over him; it invades no part of the Civil "Judicature, nor looses the bonds thereof "by these Spiritual Pretences; but leaves "the Government of the World just in the "posture it was before Christ's coming, or as "it would be supposed to be, if he had never "left any Keys in his Church.

§. XLV. THAT the Church as a Body and Corporation of it self judiciarily determines in Council, and lays obligations to Obedience, infringes and inrodes no more than her other acts now mentioned; if it be declarative of matter of Faith or Duty indispensably, as received originally from Christ by Church conveyance, the Determination is no more than the first Teaching and Promulgation of it was; if it be constitutive of Laws and Canons, for setling and enjoyning of Discipline, the matter in it self indifferent, but limited for present use and service, and of which, and to which purpose, all Humane Laws

Laws Eccleſiaſtical or Civil are made and tend, theſe Church Canons are, as in the make and obligation, ſo in the Practice and execution to retain that juſt regard to known Duties, eſpecially thoſe of Allegiance, that ſuch the other Church acts and cenſures do, and as already ſhewed. 'Tis true the great tranſcendent regard and reverence the Empire when Chriſtian has had for the inſtitution as from our Saviour, for Religion it ſelf, in whoſe defence the Canons were made, and for the high Dignity and Office of the Biſhops his Commiſſioners, that it ſtill has made antecedent Canons the Rule of all Laws enacted, if relating to or but bordering upon affairs Eccleſiaſtical (as inſtances are already produced) *quas leges noſtra ſequi non dedignantur*, *Novel.* 83. and to command *contra venerabilem Eccleſiam*, againſt the venerable Church, *Nullius eſt niſi Tyrannidis, cujus actus omnes reſcinduntur*, is reputed as the Act of a Tyrant, and ſuch Acts are null'd, *Cod. Juſtin. l.* 1. *Tit.* 2. 16. nay farther, *Canones, ubi agitur de re Eccleſiaſtica, jure civili ſunt preferendi*; and if the Canon and Civil Laws, thoſe of the Church and the State, have happened to be different and in competition, in any Eccleſiaſtical caſe, the Canons have took place and obliged, as in that Code and Title *Sect.* 6. and their general care and induſtry was moſtly for theſe, as the Determinations more immediately for the good of their Souls, *Novel.* 137. but this was from the greater Indulgence and Grace of the Chriſtian Emperors, and in particular caſes, and it cannot be ſuppoſed that the Church ſhould deſignedly ſet up

Chap. 4.

Chap. 4 up her Bishops and Laws, above or in opposition to that Government which the frame of their Religion includes, in Subordination to, and by Protection of which it was to be propagated and preserv'd; but of this we shall have occasion anon to consider farther. And if it be reply'd, that a Council cannot be convened or meet at all, without the Prince's Grant, at least his Letters of leave, and how then can they have any Autority independent? or should they otherwise assemble, they are reputed Seditious, Disturbers of the Peace, and of Majesty, and punishable; as is the Law imperial 16. *Cod. Theodos. Tit.* 1. *l.* 3. To this I answer, neither can they, nor ought they, nor did ever any Christian Council otherwise unite in their Persons, then by the Grant and Letters Imperial; and that censure was just, if any did otherwise attempt it. But then it is farther to be consider'd, that the form, essence and force of a Council, that which gives a right for Sanctions, and invests with Autority Ecclesiastical, is not their local personal meeting, as in one place, there convocated and sitting; but a joynt-enquiry and resolution as to the Truth's debated, and concurrency as one man in the Laws enacted, upon the true Motives and Reasons of Faith and the Gospel, as by Tradition transmitted, or in Discipline, for Government and Peace useful, and which may be done by the Bishops and Clergy dissite, and in diverse Countries by their Letters Missive and Communicatory, those *Literæ signatæ* or *systaticæ*, or circular Epistles to one another, and which has been done under diverse

verse Circumstances; and when the state of the Church was so low, and its Capacities not enabling her to do it otherwise, as is plain from Church Story and Practice; and that this was the course of the Church's 'tis more than probable, when that debate arose about the keeping of *Easter*, an account of whose Epistles we have, appearing to this purpose, given us by *Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 23.* Chap. 4.

§. XLVI. AND lastly, that this Church Power is derived only from the Church and her Bishops to others in the Succession, exclusive to Kings, and the Clergy are not in this sense his Ministers, he ordains and substitutes them not, carries nothing of opposition in the action itself, nor any thing in the design, than what the Incorporation and Offices themselves imply, and which has been hitherto rendred altogether innocent. The *Leviathan* scruples not to say, That they all derive their Offices and Power only from the Prince, and are but his Ministers, in the same manner as Magistrates in Towns, Judges in Courts of Justice, and Commanders in Armies are; and his account, why they must be so, is, because the Government could not be secure upon other terms. If the Soveraignity in the Pastor over himself and his People be allow'd of, it deprives the Magistrate of the Civil Power, and his Peoples dependency would be on such their Doctors, both in respect of the opinion they have of their Duty to them, and the fear they have of Punishment in another World, *Part 3. Cap. 42.* but this mistake of his has been enough discovered all along in this Treatise, and will be more hereafter; and he will suppose

Chap. 4. ſuppoſe no Power to be, but what is outwardly Coercive; and for his two Reaſons he gives, they are no leſs apt and ill placed, for that Duty and Obedience Chriſtians are engaged in by St. *Paul*, and ſuitably owe to their Doctors, them that are ſet over them in the Lord, reaches no farther than does their Commiſſion, which is only in order to Heaven, and fear of Puniſhment in another World, ariſes in a particular manner, from their Rebellion and Diſobedience to Princes; this is one of the Sins is there to be Puniſhed; and for Church-mens being no leſs ſubject to Ambition and Ignorance than any other ſort of men, which he adds for another reaſon, nothing in particular can juſtly be inferr'd from it, becauſe others are equally liable to them, and which he does not deny.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

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§. I. THERE is but one thing now behind that ſeems to me to be conſidered, as requiſite for the cleering this Diſcourſe; and 'tis in the caſe juſt now ſtated. As ſuppoſe the Canons of the Church, and the Laws of the State, ſhould really and actually ſtand in competition, that they enjoyn and prohibit the ſame action at the ſame time, or at leaſt ſo as the deſigns of both cannot at once be ſerved and complied with, and which is eaſily to be ſuppoſed, and muſt fall out, where are two Soveraign independent Powers over one and the ſame Subjects. This Mr. *Hobbs* aggravates as that Kingdom divided in it ſelf and cannot ſtand, it muſt neceſſarily diſtract a People, and expoſe them to the greateſt inconveniences; 'tis a dividing the Soveraign Power, here is a Supremacy againſt Soveraignty, Canons againſt Laws, a Ghoſtly

Chap. 5. autority against the Civil, two Kingdoms and each Subject to, must obey two Masters who both will have the Commands observ'd as Law, which is impossible. This he places among his other effects of an imperfect institution, is reckoned up and urged by him among the Infirmities of a Common-wealth; nay more, as what is, against the Essence of it, in the number of those things that weaken and tend to its dissolution, *Leviathan*, *Part.* 2. *cap.* 29. And all this as objected by Mr. *Hobbs* is easily answer'd, and has been over and over again in this Discourse, for it proceeds alone upon that false precarious supposition, and pertinaciously resolv'd upon Principle of his and his other Friends above reckoned up; as *Erastus*, *Selden*, *Salmasius*, &c. which have formerly perplexed the World therewith, and still do in their Adherents. That there is no Power but what is outwardly cogent upon mens Persons or Estates or Liberties, working by sensible force and impressions, no other Kingdom but what is of this World, unless a Kingdom of Fairies, in the dark, as *Hobbs* ridicules it, for thus he argues against *Bellarmine*, and concludes his Enquiries all in vain, whether the Power of the Pope of *Rome* ought to be Monarchical, Aristocratical or Democratical; because all these Powers are Soveraign and Coercive, and consequently none of them can belong to him as from Christ, *Part* 3. *c.* 42. And hence he argues on in the next Section, For if the Supreme King have not his Regal Power in this World, by what autority can Obedience be required of his Officers? with abundance of

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the same almost every where. But yet, because there appears some shew of objection in the thing it self, and it may fall under some doubt with a less, but conscientious, considering Person, whether it be likely, and also consistent with obedience to, and the ends of Government, that two such Powers, both obliging, should be erected over one and the same subject, and in what case it will be that they are to obey. I shall add farther, Chap. 9.

§. 11. THAT if this Conclusion be good, That therefore there ought to be no Church Power nor Laws at all distinct from those of the State, because at some one time or other both may stand in competition; and the same Action, at the same time may fall under an Injunction and Prohibition; and these Laws of the Church must of necessary consequence overthrow and over-rule those of the State: the same is equally deducible from the Laws of God and Christ, immediately given by them, or their Messengers the Apostles; all which will be as much liable to the same consequence, and found some times or other, many times, to be sure, as inconsistent in the particular practice, as to what the Secular Power may be necessitated to command. The Duties to be performed in the Congregation, as Prayer, attending the Sacraments, &c. are what are the appointment of Christ, and obliging every Christian; and yet in the time of War, in order to publick Justice, by the very accidents and contingencies of man's life, do and must come cross in Mr. *Hobb*'s sense, and

Chap. 5. the Governments diſſolution muſt be alſo hazarded thereby; and 'twill be the ſame where the Goſpel-Commands reach the Imperate Acts of the Will, as they ſpeak, or organical Duties, and which require ſet times and place, and motions in the Performance; and yet theſe were Soveraign Laws notwithſtanding, when actually, and in their perſons given by Chriſt and the Apoſtles; then, Mr. *Hobbs* acknowledges them to be ſuch, only to be ſuperſeded on diverſe Conſiderations, not ſo particularly engaging the Performance at ſome times, and yet ſtill continuing to be obliging, as in their ſeveral deſigns and purpoſes; and none do any more. And *Herod* indeed, ſuſpected a Diſſolution of the Government by it; theſe very Laws of God compared with one another, as with thoſe of the Civil Magiſtrate upon theſe mens inferences muſt ceaſe, were unduly impoſed, becauſe they are not at all times, by reaſon of one another, practicable; and 'tis equally impoſſible to Mourn and to Rejoyce, to Faſt and to be Hoſpitable, to be upon my knees at Prayer, and to be doing Juſtice on the Bench, to obey God and my King in the ſame Perſon, at one and the ſame time, and in the ſame Duties, as to obey Soveraignty and Supremacy, Canons and Laws, a Ghoſtly and a Civil Autority, and all or none; are on the ſame account to be placed in oppoſition. If the Objection has any force, as Mr. *Hobbs* thinks it has, and lays his full ſtreſs againſt Eccleſiaſtical Laws upon it: And again, if whatever is from a due inſtitution, and from juſt autority, then looſes its Sanction and

Nature,

Nature, is to be null'd and to cease; if upon other Considerations suspended for some time, something more weighty, more useful, or absolutely necessary may intervene, and it is not at that time to be practised and complied with; or thus, because not always practicable it ought not to be enjoyn'd at all, then sundry of God's own Laws must cease to oblige and that for ever, or were unjust in their Enactions; because obliging to practice only in their due times and circumstances. The affirmative Precepts of the Ten Commandments themselves will fail one way or both; nor does any pretend in his Expositions on the Decalogue, to make but sense of such those Precepts, without first laying down that distinction of *semper* and *ad semper*, presupposing and taking it for a truth, that, that which is always a Law, and of it self obliging, does not actually engage to performance at every time, has only its proper seasons for practice; if then a compromising and adjustment is not allow'd to be made in one instance, 'tis not in the other; and, if in any one, 'tis in all; we can as easily reconcile the Laws of the Church in their Practice with the Laws of the State, as we can the immediate Laws of God and Christ, as we can the Laws of God with one another, and thorow Obedience in every respect, is equally possible, the same humane Prudence and Discretion, one and the same; but course of things, their Natures and Obligations considered, will determine and adjust in one as in the other, and which not presupposed, and made use of in all, there will be indeed, Chap. 5.

Chap. 5. only justling and thwarting, as to all our Obligations, and at last, παραλυσία, an Universal Dissolution. Now in order to this, in regard to the Soveraignty and Supremacy, Laws and Canons, Civil and Ghostly Obedience, as 'tis phrased, and which is at present the particular concern; what I have already said in the former Chapter concerning Church Censures, Penances, Excommunications, and the Canons of Councils, and their particular Obligations, might suffice in general, and satisfie any serious inquirer. Nothing of this nature is to be of force, if shutting out any antecedent immutable known Duty, implying Rebellion and Sedition, thwarting what is upon any occasional Necessity, or appearance of a conveniency, commanded by the lawful Civil Power; the Church always asserts, owns, and pleads for Princes, and what she enjoyns cannot be believed to be of force, or by her intendment, if against them. But my purpose is to go a little farther in compliance with this present opportunity, and to consider the Laws of the Church, in the large acceptation, as including the Laws of Religion in general, whether meerly Humane and Ecclesiastical, or more purely and immediately Divine, given by Christ and his Apostles in their Persons and Instances, whether as to Positive institutions or Moral, and in regard to each of which, what is the force and autority of a civil Command, how far it either suspends, or disengageth; and I the rather also do it, take this latitude, because the one when well considered, will add light, and much contri-

contribute to the better understanding of the other; especially to the clearing of the point of Ecclesiastical and Civil Power, their extent and obligations. Chap. 5.

§. III.

NOW in order to this, Mr. *Hobbs* himself has given us an excellent Key, and his Method in general is to be followed by us; I'le here transcribe his words, than which nothing can be more apposite. "But this difficulty of obeying God and the Civil Soveraign on Earth, to those that can distinguish betwixt what is necessary, and what is not necessary for their reception into the Kingdom of God, is of no moment; for if the command of the Civil Soveraign be such, as that it may be obey'd without the forfeiture of life eternal; not to obey is unjust, and the Precept of the Apostle takes place, *Servants obey your Masters in all things*; and the Precept of our Saviour, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in* Moses *Chair*; *all therefore they shall say, observe and do*; but if the Command be such as cannot be obey'd without being damned to eternal Death, then it were madness to obey it; and the Council of our Saviour takes place, (*Mat.* 10. 28.) *Fear not those that can kill the Body, but can kill the Soul.* All men therefore that would avoid both the Punishments that are in this World to be inflicted for Disobedience to their earthly Soveraign, and those which shall be inflicted in the World to come for Disobedience to God, have need to be taught to distinguish well between what is, and what is not necessary to eternal Salvation, *Leviathan*, Part 3. cap. 43.

NOR

Chap. 5. §. IV. NOR is it Mr. *Hobbs* his Rule only, but the Rule of those who were as much better, as they are ancienter than he; I mean the Ancient and Holy Fathers of the Christian Church, whom we find thus laying down these distinctions of necessary and not necessary, or rather more and less necessary, for the adjusting and determining concerning the degrees and measures of Duty, whether to God or Man. In *Clemens Alexandrinus*, we have the τὰ κύρια τῆς ἀγωγῆς, & κυριώτατα, Tenents that are Principal and of a first Order, and others that are higher, and go beyond them, *Strom. l. 6. pag. 675.* and *Lib. 4. p. 538.* διαθέσεως ἐκ ἀπτωτικὰ, ἃ δ' ἀναγκαῖα ἐστὶ θέσεως, whatever is impossible is not necessary, and what is necessary is easie, ἀδοίς ἐστι τὸ ἀναγκαῖα, there is no want or inability to such things, we are indispensably to do. *Idem.* παιδαγωγὸς, *l. 2. c. 1. 148.* τὰ τὴ περίλυπα, τὰ τὴ ὑποδύσια ἀναιρῶν. *Strom. lib. 7. pag. 737.* in the Life of *Constantine* by *Eusebius*, *l. 2. c. 70, 71.* there is mention'd κεφαλαῖα τῆς ἐν νόμῳ παραγγελμάτων, the Head and Uppermost of the Commandments in the Law, which will admit of no debate and demur in the assent unto them; and συνήθεια δ' κύρια, to the same purpose in *Evagrius*, *Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 11.* which are Principles and not to be innovated in or dissented from, which to do is certain Punishment, in some points a liberty to change is granted, but not in all; as it is in that Chapter. St. *Austin* discourses of some things, *ad ipsa fidei pertinent fundamenta*, as the foundation and support of Religion; and which if taken away, *Totum quod*

in

in Christo auferre molitur, Christianity it self is gone with it, and in others he leaves a latitude, and good and Learned Men may dissent about them, *Lib.* 1. *cont. Julian. Pelag. cap.* 6. & *Ep.* 157. *ad Optatum*; and not thus to consider things is occasion of distraction among Christians, nor can Conscience receive a just satisfaction in discharge of her Obedience. I do not know how to express my self better than in the words of our Learned Dr. *Hammond.* Serm. on *Acts* 3. 26. *Vol.* 2. "There is not a more noxious mistake, "a more fatal piece of Stoicism among Chri- "stians, than not to observe the different "degrees and elevations of Sin, one of the "first, another of the second magnitude; it "is the ground, to say no more, of a deal of "desperate prophaneness. And it is this in particular is lamented in *John Calvin* by *Arnoldus Poelenburgh* (one friend enough to him) that he did not apprehend and separate *inter fundamentalia & non fundamentalia*, between what was fundamental and what not; *Uberiori cum fructu arduum opus reformationis promovisset*; and which had he done, his Reformation had been with much success carried on by him, *inter Ep. Eccl. pag.* 328. *Amstelodam.* Chap. 5.

§. V. BUT then what is necessary and what not, and such the degrees of it, is that which will be harder yet to determine, unless we go on with Mr. *Hobs* in that Chapter, and then indeed 'tis easie enough done. For he tells us, All that is necessary to Salvation is contained in two Virtues, *Faith in Christ, and Obedience to Laws*, and the Laws we are to obey are

Chap. 5. are only what the Civil Soveraign has made so, and the Precepts of the Bible oblige no otherwise, then as he so commands and puts his Sanction upon them, and this all the *Obedience* is necessary to salvation, and by *Faith* he only means, *that Jesus is the Christ*; thus indeed it is not hard to reconcile our obedience to God with our obedience to the Civil Magistrate, as himself there very well infers, because on his terms we owe, and are to pay, no obedience to God at all; all the faith we are not to violate, and all the Laws we are to obey, are only this, that Commandment to obey our Civil Sovereign, and whatever rules he assigns for our obedience, nothing upon these accounts, can make demur, or but lay a scruple upon conscience; for the point is plain and easie, and decided to our hands, that 'tis *Man* and not *God* we are to *obey*, unless man please to receive and imbody into his Codes or Laws, what God in Scripture has proposed and recommended unto us, not unlike that Law of the Senate, decided and exposed by *Tertullian Apol. cap.* 5. *Ne quis Deus ab Imperatore consecretur nisi à Senatu probatus, apud nos de humano arbitrio divinitas pensitetur, nisi homini Deus placuerit, non erit Deus*, that none must be consecrated a God, unless approved of by the Senate, the *Apotheosis* is from man, by his favour and grant, and unless God pleases man he shall not be God.

§. VI. AND all this is not much to be admired in *Hobbs* and *Spinosa* his *Scholar*, whose known design is to depretiate, and make nothing at all of the Gospel of Christ, to render both God and his Church insignificant; but the admiration

admiration and aſtoniſhment is this, to ſee it publickly Preach'd, and then Printed in our Church of *England*, and by him that is of a higher Order and Dignity there, as by the Dean of *Canterbury*, as in his Sermon above mentioned; and he that takes but a little pains to run over that train of abſurdities collected out of Mr. *Hobbs*, by the great Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, in his late Treatiſe of the [Obligation of Chriſtianity by Divine Right] and compares them with that paſſage of the Sermon, and the following part of the Section, the occaſion of this Diſcourſe will find very little difference in the expreſſion and delivery. So many of thoſe moſt fulſome Poſitions, to come ſo very near what is ſaid by the Dean, as his own preſent Judgment, that no leſs than an Ambition of being ſuſpected for a *Hobbiſt*, if not embraced as really ſuch, could have drawn it from his Tongue and Pen; and the next wonder muſt be, that two ſuch oppoſite Judgments, and at this time o'th' day in the Church of *England*, ſhould be found fellow members together, and with the two Head Titles, in her famous Metropolitical Church of *Canterbury*. And had I been of the ſame Judgment with Mr. *Deane*, or but inclinable to a perſwaſion, in order to it; and had *Yorkſhire* been my Country, and I to Preach a Sermon to my fellow Natives of it, of Love and Peace, as he once did, I would never have laid the Surplice and Croſs and Kneeling at the Altar upon the Biſhops, but plainly told them, that they were made Law, and eſtabliſh'd by the Civil Soveraign, and they were to thank God it was no worſe, Chap. 5.

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Chap. 5. and did the King command to adore the Linnen, or Font, or Tables themſelves, they are not to gain-ſay and affront, becauſe *affronting Laws and Magiſtracy*, to pretend to a *farther obligation from Conſcience*, and to oppoſe even a *falſe Religion*, or to make *Proſelytes* to their own, though they be *never* ſo *ſure they are in* the *right*, is to be *guilty* of *groſs hypocriſie*, without an *extraordinary Commiſſion* from God to that purpoſe, they are no more obliged to do it here at home, than to go into *Spain*, or *Italy*, or *Turkey*, and there make Converts, and *which no Proteſtant holds himſelf obliged to do.* Sure I am the Biſhops had had more Juſtice done them than they found in the Sermon, and it ſeems very unequal, that they ſhould be ſuppoſed to redreſs, and be left wide open to a popular Odium, becauſe not doing, what never was in their Commiſſion, what would have been their *groſs hypocriſie* in attempting, becauſe having neither an *extraordinary Commiſſion* for it, nor hath *the Providence of God made way by* the *Permiſſion* of the *Magiſtrate*, and all that can be reply'd is this, that Mr. *Dean* chang'd his Judgment upon the writing his next Sermon, which he hath declared to be by Nature mutable, and thereby has this advantage, is always *ready for better information*, or rather to act the *Æcebolius* as occaſion; and to do him all the right I can, this is to be ſaid for him, that he diſſents from Mr. *Hobbs* ſomething in this very paſſage of his Sermon; for the inference on his ſide is ſtrong, that where *extraordinary Commiſſion by Miracles is evidenced*, *a* falſe *Religion* is *to be oppoſed*, and the true *one* to *be Preach'd*,

Preach'd, though the *Magiſtracy and Law* be otherwiſe; which Mr. *Hobs* will by no means allow, he will not permit it to the Apoſtles, *Leviathan*, *Part* 3. *Cap.* 42. but then how Mr. *Dean* will avoid this Conſequence, that there is no Church Power on Earth; nor is it lawful for any one to Preach the Goſpel, when it is not Law by the Civil Soveraign, ſince thoſe Miracles, which alone were in the Apoſtles time, and which is, though leſs of it, every whit as rank Hobbiſm, I have not ſagacity enough to ſee, that he deſires to do it, is not very certain; all that can be ſaid for him is, that he ſeems to have been but raw in the Controverſie, and is ready, as all ſuch ought to be, to ſubmit upon better Information, and to which if theſe Papers contribute, they ſo far anſwer the deſign of the Author. Chap. 5.

§. VII. BUT whatever either Mr. *Hobs* or his Adherents have wrote or preached, ſure we are our Saviour calls for Confeſſion before Men, for the owning aſſerting and publiſhing his Truths, and moſt of all then, and moſt publickly, when moſtly oppoſed, with the greateſt hazard and jeopardy, even before Kings, and not to be aſhamed, when the Kings of the Earth ſtand up, and the Rulers take Council together againſt us; and Chriſt riſen from the Dead is not only to be believed in the Brain and Heart, but to be confeſſed too with the Mouth, if Salvation the effect of it; as St. *Paul* tells us, 1 *Cor.* 10. whatever anteceding Law againſt us, or what Power ſoever enacting; 'tis our very caſe now as was St. *Peter's* in the *Acts*; and we are to obey God

Chap. 5. God and not Man. And as sure I am also that this was the Practice of the succeeding Holy Fathers and Professors of the Church, in the best Ages of it, who still opposed whatever Religion was false, by what Law soever established and abetted, and still possessed and preached the true in opposition to it, with the hazard of whatsoever was mercileſs from this World could attend them for it. Nor was it then thought a *Contempt* or *Affront* to the Persons, or Laws, or Offices of the Civil Magistrate; nor was it believed so to be by the Empire it self, where satisfaction desired, or enquiry made; as appears particularly in the days of *Trajan*, who ceased his Persecutions and Jealousies too, being well assured that they met before day, to Pray and give Thanks to, and Praise God and Christ; covenanting against Adultery, Murder, and such like Iniquities, μηδὲν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πρᾶξιν ἀνθρ. and that they acted nothing at all against the Laws, and the *Government* was not *affronted*, nor endanger'd by it; an account of which is to be seen, *Tertul. Apol. c.* 1. and in *Eusebius* his Church History, *Lib.* 3. *c.* 33. and not to Profeſs Christianity, was to deny it, and nothing but that δεύτερον κάθαρμα, that second Baptism, as 'tis call'd in *Sozomen*'s Church History, that initiation or entrance by a new Engagement, a thorow Change, and severe Repentance, could give again a Name or Interest in Christ, replace such among the Candidates for Heaven. And those that offered at the Heathen shrines at the Command of the Emperor, that fell away and disown'd the Faith in the time of Persecution,

Persecution, were not received, nor had their *Libellum Pacis*, admitted to a Reconciliation and Unity with the Church, but upon severest Penance, and a larger trial of after-adherency, and such were never admitted into Holy Orders, to any Charge, or Publick Power in the Church, or if in Holy Orders before, he was deposed for ever; of so much blacker a guilt was it not to Preach Christ, than not barely only to confess him, (however Mr. *Dean* places no Duty at all in it, but the quite contrary) as appears all along in the Story of those times, and the Rules and Canons of the Church made occasionally on such accounts. And we have instances in some, that when dragg'd to the Idol, with Censers in their Hands, and there forced to offer; as it was one of the Devices of the Devil, thus outwardly to gain Countenance to his Worship, Men of greater Eminency in Christianity being reserv'd for this purpose, and whose Examples were more prevailing, and apter to perswade, being represented as such that had freely offer'd; these Christians did not satisfie themselves in their own innocency, and that the Church did so repute and receive them, but when released, openly declared the force in the face of the Magistracy, and their greatest Conventions, and were again laid hold of for it, went immediately to the stake, or the Beasts, suffer'd Martyrdom for it; though the Laws of the Land Prohibited it, and the doing of it was Death, though indulged by the Church, and the present Circumstances indemnified, if not done; yet all did not perswade, when but Chap. 5.

Chap. 5. in shew to the World their Christianity was not own'd, and to the appearance of many denied by them, they could on no other terms believe themselves Christians, nor consequently design to live upon Earth, than as on Earth they confessed their Saviour before Men; on this account only did they expect that Christ should own them before his Father which is in Heaven. And they were only the worst of Hereticks and of Men, which, in that Age, taught and practised otherwise. *Simon Magus*, and his Sect, πάσης μὲν ὑπ' ἀρχηγὸν αἱρέσεως πρῶτον γενέσθαι Σίμωνα. He was receiv'd to be the Ring-leader of all Hereticks; nor was there any thing so impure which he and his followers did not outdo them in, as *Eusebius* tells us, *Hist. Eccl. lib.* 2. *c.* 14. and particularly he tells us, *lib.* 4. *c.* 7. that these were the Tenents of *Basilides*, διδάσκειν τὸ ἀδιαφορεῖν εἰδωλοθύτων φαγεῖν μύσας, καὶ ἐξομνυμένους, ἀπαρασφαλῶς ἔχειν τὴν πίστιν καὶ τοὺς τῆς διωγμῶν καιρούς, that it is indifferent to eat what is offer'd to Idols, and deny the Faith in the time of Persecution, and suitably I find this account of them in *Irenæus*, *That whatsoever they outwardly committed against the rules of the Gospel was no Sin, that they were not saved by their just actions, that there was no such thing as Martyrdom, and by the Redemption it was so ordered, that the Judge had no advantage over them*, *Ed. Fenard. Paris. l.* 1. *c.* 20. *l.* 4. *c.* 64, &c. that they were in their own opinion of themselves, βασιλεῖοι παῖδες, a Kingly Royal Priesthood, and People, in this sense, because above all Laws and Rules of good living, as St. *Clemens*, *Strom.*

Strom. 3. *p.* 438, 439. *Ed. Sylburg.* and no doubt but Mr. *Hobs* has been very well acquainted with these Men, though he may pass for an Original, with many of his Welwishers. Chap. 5.

§. VIII. IT then appearing that Obedience is due from a Christian, to both God and Man, to his Church and his Prince, and Religion and Loyalty are what he must Profess and Practice; what is the case that the one may and must yield to the other in, abate and be suspended for some time, and in some distinct Acts and Offices, and neither be violated, be affronted, or contemn'd, in the true intent, design and purpose of both, I do now undertake to give Satisfaction; and in order to which we are to range and limit the Laws of Religion under these three general Heads, that the Duties in each Branch may the more particularly appear, to whoso considers them. 1. They are such as are Arbitrary in their Sanction and Enacting, without any antecedent Necessity, as to the particular instance, and might have been these or other, but are Humane only and Ecclesiastical, constituted and limited by the Bishops and Governors of the Church, in their Canons and Rules to that purpose, and which together with the decency, and aptness, and usefulness of the things themselves, renders obliging. 2. They are such as are equally Arbitrary, and without any foregoing Obligation, as are the former, the reason and force of which depends upon the choice and Autority of the Law-giver; but here is the difference, these Laws are Divine, their Author

Chap. 5. and Institutor is Christ, or such as were immediately inspir'd, miraculously and in an extraordinary manner commissioned by him in order to this very thing. Such are the Sacraments, &c. and which might have been other than they now are, had he pleased.

3. They are such as are no ways Arbitrary in the instance, but follow necessarily and naturally upon the supposal and reception of Religion, and this, whether the Religion be that of Nature, immediately flowing from our Natural Relations and dependency to and upon God, and one another; such are all the Acts of Natural Religion, as Faith and Relyance upon God, Prayer and Praises, and Thanksgivings to him, an Imitation and Copying out of his Purity and Holiness, Love, and Faith, and Justice, being tender-hearted and affectionate to one another, with more of the like nature, and to which all Mankind is oblig'd immutably and for ever, not by any positive-superadded Law or Injunction, but by the force and necessary results of his Creation, connate and congenious with mans being and subsistency, and the first Notions of Religion; Man must fall from his Orb, cease his own proper instincts and operations without them; or whether the Religion be founded in the Offices of Christ, to which he was since deputed of the Father upon Earth, as a King, Prophet and Priest, in order to Man's Redemption, and is in part now executed in Heaven, to govern, teach, satisfie and intercede for him; and which implies and includes, in the first design and purpose, whatever Duty and Service

vice is Natural, as above, and its farther diſtinct Acts and Obligations, are, that this Saviour and Redeemer be believed in, inwardly and from the Heart, and ſuitably be obey'd and ſubmitted to as is required of us by him; and this to be publickly own'd and confeſſed in each of his Offices, even on the Croſs it ſelf, when in the greateſt hazards, when call'd before Kings for his Name ſake, and this ſo immediately and indiſpenſably every Chriſtian's Duty, that not only his Honour and Advantage is placed in it, but he muſt ceaſe to be a Chriſtian without it, and his Saviour will not upon others terms own him before his Father which is in Heaven, the Religion cannot be where it is not, we cannot ſuppoſe a Saviour to come in that Nature into the World, ſo to dye and live for us, upon other terms, 'tis all connate with the being and offices of a Redeemer. I'le conſider them each in their order. Chap. 5.

§. IX. 1. THE Laws of Religion are Church Laws, Determinations of what are in themſelves indifferent, ſo order'd in the courſe of things, as to be the Subject of Laws Eccleſiaſtical, for the preſent Power to enact and repeal, limit or enlarge, ſuſpend or execute as occaſion and circumſtances direct and urge, and tend to the more decent and uniform, apt and ſuitable Performance of what is in an higher order of Duty, and farther degree of Neceſſity, and to which there is no antecedent fixed Rule given; nor can the moſt Lesbian rule of what Latitude, or how comprehenſive ſoever, be ſo at once contrived and made, upon the greateſt foreſight of

Chap. 5. the Law-giver, as to be so fitted for and answer each Case that offers, or Circumstance that may happen, to fall in of it self, and comply with the present accident, and then, if no present Power to oblige and over-rule, only disorder and confusion in the Church will be the consequent. Now these Laws though in themselves obliging, and each Christian, as a Member of that Society, stands immediately engag'd unto them; nor can any other Foreign Power repeal or null them as to their Sanction, yet there may be, there is to be, a Cessation as to Practice under some Cases and Circumstances, and the particnlar local Performance may be superseded at present, or suspended for the future; nor do the terms for Heaven consist in the forbearance, or shut out of the Church-Society because of it, little Accidents and Contingencies, not to be foreseen, nor prevented, will oft obstruct, and become lawful Impediments; and much more where the Civil Power comes thwarting upon us, and renders Church Laws impracticable, a Secular inhibition upon Penalties and Inconveniencies, which tend to the greater Damage of our common Christianity if incurr'd, and to the silencing and abating from Duties of a higher concern. Acts of Charity, we know, are to cease in respect of Acts of Justice, nor does the Practice of Charity oblige at all, but as qualified, and in set Capacities; every one is to give as he is able, and yet both oblige in their kind and order, and the engagement is always the same and perpetual, the former is not null'd by reason of the present incapa-

incapacity, or doth it end with the Ceſſation, as to Practice, or hath the veriеſt Lazar, a Charter thereby, for inhumanity. And upon the ſame account it is, and the Parity of Reaſon, that even particular Acts of the Poſitive Inſtitutions and Worſhip of God, give way to Obedience to Governors, and when the common Political good of Mankind is engaged, as I ſhall have occaſion to inſtance farther hereafter. Upon theſe accounts it is, that the *Laws* and Magiſtracy are not to be *affronted* or contemned, nor can the Magiſtracy it ſelf ſubſiſt with the Church upon other terms. Obedience is to be preferr'd before Sacrifice, the poſitive Appointments even of God himſelf, and much more may the Obligation ceaſe, and which created in us a Duty, in Laws purely Humane and Eccleſiaſtical. 'Tis true, theſe Powers did never yet claſh, or break out into publick Oppoſitions; from the time that the Empire became Chriſtian, and ſo along in the beſt and flouriſhing Ages, as is above obſerved, the Empire ſtill conſulting the Church, and her Canons were made Law; or if otherwiſe, and ſome particular Indulgences and Abatements there was, as to Church Duties, by good Emperors, upon the ſcore of their alone Imperial Power, granted, as ſome there was, upon what rules of Policy and Neceſſity, is not now needful to enquire, and which we have reaſon to believe the Church never conſented to, and to be ſure there was no antecedent Canon to go by; yet we know this, that the Church ſubmitted, and her Diſcipline was ſo far relaxed and abated thereby. *Conſtantine* Chap. 5.

Chap. 5. the Great was always a favourer of the true Catholicks, and upheld and maintain'd them in each their Privileges and Immunities, suffering no one Sect to advance above, to oppress and invade them; and yet he sometimes gave Indulgencies to all Sects whatever, the Heathens not excepted, and laid Penalties upon none, because of their Religion, and the *Novatians* in particular had again special favour, when all other Conventicles were put down, *Euseb. Hist. l.* 10. *c.* 5. *De Vit. Constant. l.* 2. *c.* 59. *Socrat. Hist. l.* 5. *c.* 10. and that they had their Churches in *Rome* it self, and flourish'd there in many Congregations, and with great Auditories *Socrates* also tells us, till removed by Pope *Celestinus*, *l.* 7. *c.* 11. and that most Pestilent Sect of the Donatists, all along condemn'd by the Catholick Church, was so long indulg'd by *Constantine*, till incourag'd by his Mercy, they brake out into Tumults and Seditions, and the Empire was unsafe, even shaken by them (the Natural effect of all Schisms) and there was a Necessity for recalling their Grants of Liberty, as also by their other continued outrages upon all that was Sacred and Separate, whether Persons or Objects; all which is to be seen at large in *Optatus* and Saint *Austin*, especially *Lib.* 3. *Cont. Cresc. con. Donatist.* or he that desires an account of them more briefly, let him read it, given by *Vallesius* in his Treatise entitled *De Schismate Donatist.* bound up at the end of his *Eusebius* Church History. Now in these Cases, the Church Power and Laws are to cease in part in the Execution, though the right remains, nor were they so exercised against

againſt theſe Schiſmaticks, as otherwiſe they ought and would have been. If God's Name cannot be glorified on Earth, in that decent, befitting, reverend uſeful way, agreeing with his Nature and Worſhip, and our relations to him, and the whole Earth be filled with his due Praiſe at once, the Church Power and Laws which provide that it may, are not to be ſtretched beyond thoſe Deſigns for which ſhe is endowed with a Power for Sanction, nor can any Society ſuppoſe themſelves obliged to promote by ſuch means as God never put into their hands; the holy Biſhops therefore and good Chriſtians of old, praiſed God for the Liberties and Advantages they had in their own Perſons and Congregations, adorning their Profeſſions by Zeal and good Works, they could not remedy in others what Power and Laws, which they had not, did indulge and indemnifie them in. Or if this by a Law be denied to themſelves, the Laws purely Eccleſiaſtical were never deſign'd nor urg'd, ſo to oblige againſt the ſtate, as that the particular Practice is in the immutable indiſpenſible Duties for Heaven, and in ſuch caſes 'tis only their equity, reaſonableneſs, higher uſe and advantage in the Chriſtian Worſhip is to be inſinuated, pleaded and perſwaded unto. Autority over mens Perſons or Actions was never placed in Church-men, nor has it any other influence or effect upon either, than to exclude them the Kingdom of Heaven; nor will omiſſions of this Nature, and under the ſame Circumſtances amount unto that, nor can any man loſe his Heaven for it, it may be a Sin in ſuch, as with too much liberty, or too little regard indulge or re- Chap. 5.

Chap. 5. ſtrain, or in ſuch as too gladly accept of it, to the neglect, or abuſe, or contempt of the Service of God; but there can be none in thoſe, where Neceſſity lays the force, and the harder terms and obligations from the Powers of the World, makes the intermiſſion and Vacancies in the Performances.

§. X. TO ſay the whole and alone Power to make Church Laws, and fix Rules in God's Worſhip is in the Prince, is againſt the ſuppoſal that the Church is an Incorporation by Divine Appointment with its own Laws and Officers, a City within it ſelf, with its own Rules for Unity within its ſelf, and thoſe that place all here, and ſuch there be, and urge the unreaſonableneſs of Separation upon the account of things indifferent, becauſe againſt the civilly eſtabliſhed Polity of a Nation, which has appointed their preſent uſe and obſervancy, ſeem to make the terms for Unity and Compliance too wide, as others do too narrow, and the accidents of the World may occaſion inconveniencies inſupportable; the very naming it is Scandalous, that a Chriſtian is originally engaged by his Profeſſion to receive Rules in Holy Worſhip from an Atheiſt, or a *Mahumetan*, for ſuch Perſons may be, and ſo then it muſt be, upon theſe Principles; 'tis one thing to want what ought to be, or what is moſt uſeful, through an undue Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and which my Religion may engage me to undergo, and quite another thing to be antecedently engag'd in their Determinations. Nor again on the other hand, can the Church be ſuppoſed to ingage immutably and peremptorily by thoſe

thoſe Laws of her own, though never ſo apt and uſeful, to the Practice of which, the Perſons, and other Advantages from the World are neceſſary, and which ſhe hath not in her Power, as ſhe is a Society of our Saviour's Inſtitution, where the Prince has made Edicts inconſiſtent with their Practice, and in whom the Church does acknowledge the Advantages of the World to be ſeated, and which declares him to be Supreme over all Perſons, in all Cauſes, Actions and Performances whatſoever; Abatements then as to Practice there may, there muſt be, where that Commonwealth overbears out of which the Church cannot be or ſubſiſt, where Neceſſity and Accidents prevent and obſtruct, even many times in order to Union and Uniformity; that firſt Zeal of the *Aſiaticks*, afterwards abated about the time of keeping *Eaſter*, and which they accounted not a thing neceſſary, as ſucceeding Practice has declar'd, and moſtly when Religion may be in hazard, otherwiſe theſe, as they are of an after-Inſtitution, ſo muſt they yield in place to that which is antecedently God's Worſhip, and in order to which alone they are acceptable. *Julian* the Apoſtate, among other Diabolical Stratagems and Infernal Devices he had for overthrowing and eraſing Chriſtianity, (*Hiſt. Tripart. l. 6. c.* 29.) had this for one, he inſtructed and adorned the Heathen Worſhip in all the Forms, and Rites, and Cuſtoms, with every Order, and Habit, that was in uſe among Chriſtians in their Worſhip, hereby believing to gain from them a value upon his Idol Services, to flatter and cheat the Chriſtians into a compliance Chap. 5.

Chap. 5. pliance with and entertainment of them; but this work'd not all upon the moſt holy Biſhops and Confeſſors of the Age, the outward form was reputed nothing if not leading to that within the Veil, nor did one way of Worſhip at all prevail, if ſo be without, if engaging to deny, that one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one God and Father of all; the Ceremonial part never had any other eſtimate than in order to the more Subſtantial, and 'twas in courſe that the Veil was rent at our Saviour's Paſſion, when the Oracle was gone, and that Worſhip to be no more; and ſhould it ſo fall out, that what is in it ſelf ſo advantageous to the true Worſhip, be allow'd, but upon ſeverer terms, and inconſiſtent with our Chriſtian Profeſſion, as it was by *Julian*; & or the Carved or Poliſhed works of the Temple only be beaten down, and which is now ſo much contended for, by thoſe among us that own one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one God and Father of all, and which *Julian* did not do; in the former caſe we are altogether to refuſe, in the latter we are to ſubmit to the force, and God muſt be ſerved by us as he was by the Children of *Iſrael*, for ſome time in the Brick Kilns, and in the Wilderneſs, and all along till the Temple was built by *Solomon*, with allays and abatements, as to what was better, what their Lord God had choſe, and was otherways laid and deſign'd by him, Perſons and things in the ordinary courſe, retarding and obſtructing, and which the Wiſdom of God thought not convenient by an extraordinary Power to overrule and prevent, for the more ſpeedy accompliſhment.

BUT

BUT then on the other ſide, to be ſo unequal and uneven, ſo raſh and precipitant, ſo heady and unfixed in the ſolemner Duties of Worſhip and higher Performances to God Almighty, as to hold to no Rules and Orders in the diſcharge, to innovate and change in the Forms and Ways and Expreſſions, as we do in our Cloths, as is uſual in the ſhapes and modes of our Apparel, another manner of Spirit ſure becomes a Chriſtian, theſe are not befitting thoſe goings of the Sanctuary, nor are they like unto them, as they were of old, it argues every thing in the worſhipper, that can render the Worſhip it ſelf little and mean and low, in his conceit and apprehenſions, nothing can more abate of it, and make it cheap in the Eyes of others, or appear leſs revering and becoming that God that is worſhipped, this ſtill brings Neglect and Contempt in any caſe, and upon what Perſons or Performances ſoever, and much more in thoſe that are religious and terminate in God, where none can be ſuppoſed as diſcharged, but upon the deepeſt Conſiderations, the beſt weighed Reaſons, the higheſt Prudence, and a thorow apprehenſion of the decency, ſignificancy, exact proportion, and every ways uſefulneſs and advantage of it, and what evil Conſequences have hereby reach'd Religion it ſelf, too ſenſible Experience makes evident; and ſince our innovating and quarrelling about the Modes and Circumſtances of the higher Performance in Religion, how has Religion it ſelf been ſcorned, and the moſt ſolemn Performances neglected, diſuſed, and even ceaſed, as at this day, in our Land? And Chap. 5. §. XL

as

Chap. 5. as to our particular Church of *England*, her Rites and Ceremonies, when I hear and read them reported in Publick to be the beſt Model and Conſtitution the Chriſtian World affords, that ſhe has even ſlit the Hair in each inſtance, Order and Canon, Rubrick and Injunction, and is anſwering to every end of Piety and Devotion in the Worſhipper, of reverence and regard to God that is worſhipped, and full of Helps and Advantages all along in order to a ſuitable diſcharge of each. When I hear her Wiſdom and Prudence, thorow and weightieſt Conſiderations in the compoſing of each, ſo exalted and extoll'd, as is very uſual both in Diſcourſe, and from the Preſs; and yet again in the very next Breath or Page, Propoſals made for comprehenſion and compromiſements, as is frequent alſo for Repeals or Abatements of what is thus Prudent and Diſcreet, Honorable and Beneficial, every ways apt and ſignificant, and then to ſuperſede this moſt holy Worſhip in ſo uſeful a way perform'd, or, which is worſe, to alienate it, give it up for a Sacrifice, to be burnt, offer'd up, and devoted to ſtrange Gods, the private Deſigns, and perverſer Enmities, the Luſts and Paſſions, and peeviſh intereſts of a never-ſatisfied Faction, and Party among us, ſuch as have ſtill turn'd the World upſide down, wherever having Rule, and now attempt it in the ways of God's Worſhip among us, and whoſe Spleen ſeems to ſwell and be fixed among us, as did theirs of the City of *Rome* heathen, againſt God himſelf, *Civitas Romana omnes omnium gentium Deos colebant, præterquam Judeorum Deum. Arnob. Adv. Gent. l.* 1.

l. 1. which worſhipp'd all the Gods of the Gentiles, only they receiv'd not the God of the *Jews*, every thing is complied with, but that which is thus by Law eſtabliſh'd among us. This, I ſay, is what I dare ſcarce truſt to my Ears in, when giving the conveyance, I am rather apt to ſuſpect an Indiſpoſition in the Organ, that the words are diſtorted, and come croſs to the deſign of the Speaker; and ſeeing, I can hardly believe I ſee it, I ſtill ſuſpect either the Medium is undue, the Optick is weak, or 'tis by a falſe Gloſs, by ſome one or more Errors in the conveyance, whatever it is, repreſented unto me. And however I might be over-born by that Power, which as a Chriſtian I am not commiſſioned to reſiſt, and ſo may not eſcape the force, and the worſhip muſt ceaſe in Publick; yet I would as ſoon cut out my Tongue as ſpeak, or cut off my Hands, as ſubſcribe, for the aboliſhing or ceaſing of it; and that upon any other terms, than the omitting God's Worſhip altogether, or that my Religion it ſelf is not retainable with it. He that values God's Worſhip it ſelf muſt in a due Proportion value that which comes ſo near to it, or at leaſt he apprehends ſo to do, which is ſo congruous, ſo decent and ſo advantageous to, and in, the Performance of it. And as my Religion in general is to be preferr'd before all things, ſo is that which ſeems moſt apt, and beſt anſwering with, and proportion'd to its diſcharge to be next in my thoughts and deſigns, to retain and continue, and in the next degree would I become its Advocate. Theſe Propoſals then of Moderation, and from Chap. 5.

Chap. 5. from these Persons, break and are inconsistent in themselves, there is a repugnancy in the terms, and then surely not allowable with a thorow considering Person. If I believe the Service Book in the Church of *England*, the best and aptest Instrument of God's Publick Worship, I am no more to forego and give it over, than I can satisfie my self that the Blind and the Lame, and wither'd in the Flock, was acceptable to God of old, then I may devote my Body to his Service under the Gospel, and leave out the best Member of it that I have, or give but half of my self unto him, and the worser part too, my Body without my Spirit, the life and soul of it. The Controversie about the precise Day on which *Easter* was to be kept, was high amongst the ancient Bishops, and yet the more considering of them all the while counted for it in the order of those things which in their first Nature are indifferent, and it might be kept on this day or on that, no peremptory fixation of God's supervening, nor does indeed the limiting and fixing it to any time, conduce so much to the ends of Devotion, and the Service and Honour of God, as many other instances now under debate do, only *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, incited, whether by Zeal or Ambition, went too high, limiting Church Communion to one set time, for the observancy, and did, to be sure, threaten Non-Communion with the *Asiaticks* upon their dissent from the Western Churches in it; but yet the first indifferency and original immutability of the thing it self, was not concluded by them a ground sufficient to lay aside,

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aside, or alter that Custom, when, whatever it was in the Bishop of *Rome*, because below an antecedent Command in the Gospel, whether Zeal or Ambition demanded it; none farther from imposing on other Churches, what was the alone particular Practice of their own, or from censuring what was differing from them, and none again more strenuous in defending and maintaining their own way and time; they did not recede from what so great and contiguous a tradition of most holy Bishops and Autority, even Apostolical, had devolved, they had immediately receiv'd from and transmitted to one another, and all along in an unalterable Practice upheld and maintain'd, and recommended, and *Rome*'s Universal Power had not then gain'd so much in the Church as to over-rule and constrain them, all which is to be seen at large in the account given of it by *Eusebius*, *Hist. lib.* 5. *cap.* 23, 24. Chap. 5.

§. XII. I do not say that Apostolical Practice it self in the like instances is immutable and always obliging, for the present case of keeping *Easter* contradicts; Apostolical Practice was on both sides, and several other Actions and Synodical Determinations by the Apostles do not now oblige Christendom, being occasional Decisions and Canons; But this I say, where the concern is not only the same, but higher, as in the Publick Service of God in our Church, and which more neerly relates to God in his Worship, and with equal heat its abolishment is endeavour'd, as was the time of keeping *Easter*, after the manner of the *Jews* by the Bishop of *Rome*, when

Chap. 5. equally bottom'd on the same both Autority and Antiquity, even to Apostolical, for so the *Asiaticks* pleaded the Autority of St. *Philip* and St. *John*, and the Malice and Industry of our Opposers cannot gainsay us. I'le add, where every thing concurs to the procuring Reverence, Piety, and Devotion, and in which case *Calvin* himself contends for Ceremonies in the Church of Christ, when Christ is, so, illustrated by them, *Ergoccè inquies nihil Ceremoniarum dabitur ad juvandam eorum imperitiam? id ego non dico, omnino enim inile illis esse sentio, id modo contendo, ut modus ille adhibeatur qui Christum illustret, non obscuret. Institut. l.* 4. *c.* 10. *Sect.* 14. and for us to abate of these Rites, to change or lay aside our either times or ways of Worship, because perhaps a Neighbouring Church is differing, and requires, or perhaps, and which is worse, demands it of us, as the Church of *Rome* did of the Church of *Asia*, this hath no Precedent of Example, no rule of Religion to enforce us to submit to, or comply with; we have a President of as famous Apostolical a Church, as the Primitive Story acquaints us with, that is against it, and that Church which so urges and requires of us, savours too much of the present Usurpations of *Rome*, not improbably first attempted in *Victor* their once Bishop.

[§. XIII. AND much less is that Church to submit when the unrulines and disobedience of her own Members attempt the alteration, when private Pets and open Ambition in order to engrossing Superiority and Rule in themselves stimulate thereunto, as in our late pre-

tended

tended Reformations, and which is at this day only without Arms; but with the ſame virulency of Spirit, carried on in our Streets, when at the beſt the Infirmities, but rather the impetuouſneſs and madneſs of the People promotes it, this no reaſon can indure; and yet it is the great and popular Plea for the nulling our Laws Eccleſiaſtical now among us, when the rule bends to the obliquity, the right Line warps and complies with that which is crooked, both become diſorder'd and perverſe together; and, which is the miſery of all, no ſtandard ſuppoſed to remain, to reduce them. When the Laws of the Church ſubmit to that Extravagancy they are deſign'd to prevent or remedy; and the only reaſon why they are to be no more is, becauſe every Man may, and muſt, do what ſeemeth him good in his own eyes, their Will, and Luſts, and Paſſions muſt reign, and give Laws, this is the height of Anarchy and Confuſion, or farther, and for which there is ſomething more of ſhew and pretence, becauſe Pity may be a Motive, to give up all to the weak and infirm, that is, to thoſe of the leaſt underſtanding and diſcernment, for St. *Paul* has no other ſenſe of a weak Brother, or a weak Conſcience, then that which is more ignorant; what is this, but to place the Diſcretion and Government of the Church, in the hands of Ideots, and half witted? againſt the rules of all Policy that was ever heard of till now, that the womaniſh part, and ſuch as are leſs able, direct, nay over-rule, the more able and knowing, and to pay our Obedience and Obligations hither; to ſet up this Chap. 5.

Chap. 5. fort of weakneſs as the rule, their ſuggeſtions and demands for the Voice from Heaven, is not with more ſeeming ſemblance to be compared to any thing in the World[a], than to thoſe moſt abſurd Homages and Acknowledgments of the Heathens of old, ſo ridicul'd and laugh'd at by the Primitive Apologiſts, and firſt moſt holy Chriſtian Writers, which were made to Fevers and Agues, to their ſlaviſh Fears, and weaker Paſſions, paying Sacrifices and Devotions to them, who made Gods of Calamities, and worſhipped the viciſſitudes and courſes of evil Accidents, adored the bad Genius, *Eumenides* and the Furies, τὰς ἀμοιρὰς τ κακίας ἱδρυσάμενοι, δυῶν, ἀνιδρύσιτε σεβασμιωτάτας ϗ συμφορᾶς, Clem. Πεδιρεπ. ϗ συρεῖῃ ϗ φόβῳ δυῶν, *Ibid.* the very Entrails and Ordure of the Beaſts over-ruled in their Councils, over-aw'd and over-bore them; if defects be the rule, then let the Monſters and Exorbitancies of Nature (which have preſent Neceſſity enough to plead) be the Patterns of the whole Creation, let us take our Ideal knowledge of the Univerſe from its Wens and Excreſcencies, the contingencies and accidents of it; and by the ſame rule we ſhall exclude God from its Government, ſuperſede his Providence, as we do the Laws of the Church, we may as well, every one of us, cut off our Legs and become Cripples in the Streets, lay our ſelves in the High-ways and become Beggars; as if the Sun in the Firmament was only then to be Copied, as moſt beauteous and obliging, when labouring, and in an eclipſe, or the whole Earth in its due Poſture when in a Paroxyſm, a Rupture

ture and Conſternation. Surely theſe were not the infirmities St. *Paul* glorified in, nor this that depreſſed, dethroned condition of the Church, of which the Ancient Fathers make ſo large Eulogies, reckon up unto us ſo many advantages, and though ſomething has always been allow'd and abated upon ſuch the like Exigent, and unavoidable Neceſſity; yet it was never on this manner carried on and improved, to appear againſt and affront fixed and eſtabliſhed Rules and Laws, the particular Connivance, or Exception, did never cancel the rule, but rather confirm, and give new Obligations, as the exception is ſaid to ſtrengthen in all caſes and inſtances beſides; 'tis the great end and deſign of Government to obſerve and animadvert where deficient, to make ſtronger, aſſiſt and enable, where declining. So was *Job* in the Land of *Huz*, Eyes to the Blind, Feet to the Lame, enabling the Faculty, and helping on, in Duty and Obedience, and this though to be the work of Prudence and Deliberation, in applying the general Rule; yet 'tis the moſt deplorable condition, when the rule comes quite over to the obliquity, gives it ſelf up to the defect, its Guidance and Directions, its Tyranny indeed, and Depredations; and which to prevent or redreſs, to relieve and reſcue from, is its office. On theſe terms no means are left for recovery, ἢ κακία τῆς ἀπωλείας, the Diſorder goes on to infinite, all bounds and limits taken away, 'tis a running always down hill, and the bottomleſs Pit is to be its laſt Poſt or Period, perpetual horror, deſolation and confuſion for ever more. Chap. 5.

Chap. 5. §. XVII.

2. THE Laws of Religion are those Laws of Christ and his Apostles, instituted and ordained by them; such are the two Sacraments generally necessary to Salvation, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, such are the other Ordinances of the Gospel and the means of Grace, as the Ministry in general, with its appropriate distinct Powers and Offices, all like those of the two Sacraments, the general common ways and means to Salvation, but all as Arbitrary in their Sanction, and no ways reaching to an antecedent Right or Obligation, and our Saviour might have appointed others or none, had he so pleased. He once made Eye-salve of his spittle, and the clay in the Streets, and other times cured with a word from his mouth, so are they not absolutely and immutably necessary in the practice, nor are the Rules and Laws of their positive after Institution such as indispensably to be practised under all Circumstances and Accidents, and no other acceptance with God, and access to Heaven; the Christians of old banished to the Islands and the Mines, as under the heathen Persecutions, cannot be supposed always, perhaps at any time, in such their durance and slavery, capable of it in any one instance, much less in all, and yet Afflictions are so far from being an hindrance in Religion, that they are its greatest advantage, or if these be not, 'tis because they are not duly made use of, and improved. And the Fathers of the Church still made use of this as their chief Topick or Common-place for Patience and Consolation to those poor Souls, from the good and

and benefit came thereby unto them, the greater devolution of help and aſſiſtance from the Heavens, the greater reward and glory annexed. *Ambulatis in metallo, captivo quidem corpore ſed corde regnante, præceſſit diſciplina, ſequetur & venia.* Cyphr. Ep. 8. 77. *hæc pala illa quæ & nunc dominicam aream purgat, à quo certamen edicitur, niſi à quo corona et præmia proponuntur. Eccleſia in attonito eſt, tunc fides expéditior. Tertul. lib. de fuga in perſecut. cap. 1. tota paradiſi clavis tuus ſanguis eſt.* ſpeaking of the Martyrs *lib. de anima. cap.* 55. and whom he places immediately in Heaven nearer to God himſelf, *excelſoque throno coruſcans, martyribus ſeptus. poem. de ult. judicio*, cap. 7. βανάσι ὕστ ἀπα λαγὰ, τῆς θείας φιλανθρω πίας φάρμακον. *Clem. παιδωγ l. 1. c. 7.* ἴγγυς μαχάιρας, ἴγγυς θεῦ, μίλαξὺ θηείων μίλαξὺ θεῦ. *Ignat.* Ep. *ad Smyrn.* νύν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς ἶναι. *Ep. ad Rom. per dentes beſtiarum molor ut mundus panis Dei inveniar*, as in that Epiſtle *ad Rom.* and which is cited by *Ireneus, lib.* 5. *c.* 28. nor is the Church always ſecured againſt the like Obſtructions in the beſt of her conditions, and under the protection of thoſe Governors that are Chriſtian, the uſual contingencies of the World, and which in courſe ſucceed, ſo long as day and night ſucceed one another, muſt make the intermiſſion, nor is the caſualty to be avoided. But then, theſe do not intercept betwixt the Chriſtian and his God, no more than did the Mettals and the Thunder-claps, the ſtake and the wild Beaſts, to thoſe firſt Chriſtians juſt now mentioned, or ſhould the caſe really be, and which is ſo often feigned, and not always to

Chap. 5. due purpoſes, that Chriſtians are alone in a Ship, or caſt on a deſert Shoar, where neither Biſhop nor under Church-man, and the Ordinances cannot, as in the deſign of their inſtitution, be celebrated among them. And ſurely then the commands of a Soveraign are to have ſome room in the like caſes, when in the due execution of that Power intruſted with him by God and a good Chriſtian, who is alſo a good Subject, is to abate of what Duties and Performances he in ſome inſtances immediately owes to Religion and his Saviour; in obedience to thoſe Secular injunctions, to which if not engaged to ſubmit, the Government cannot ſubſiſt and be managed as in theſe particular inſtances did a pretence to, or the actual preſent exerciſe in religious Worſhip exempt and diſingage. Every one is born a Subject, owes a duty to his Prince and the Government, as ſoon as he is indebted for his Being to his Maker: and an after-dedication of my Perſon by holy Orders, does not cancel that firſt dependency, my Saviour himſelf hither all along had his regard, and he laid his Religion in relation to it: and when in the Pulpit, or, which is more, at the Altar, in the midſt of my Office, am I to give up my Perſon to that Civil Power by my Chriſtianity ſuppoſed, and by the ſame God placed over me. The ſeverer Rules and Laws of the Sabbath, were to give place to the ſaving the life of a Man, in the deſign of *Moſes*, as our Saviour expounds him to the *Phariſees*; and much more for the ſupport of Kingdoms and Communities, and ſo in all other Inſtances

Inſtances of this ſort of Holineſs, called Relative, and which is good only from the inſtitution and poſitive appointment, and no greater more notorious Cheats than thoſe *in Ordine ad Deum*, that manage and abet Diſobedience by a Charter from Religion: 'tis that very Corban in the Goſpel, ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed by Chriſt, the ſaying it is a gift and robbing my Father and Mother. That abſence from Divine Service or religious Worſhip, which is in it ſelf a ſin, upon a ſingle inſtance of Charity, for the advantage and relief of the neighbour-hood, (and then ſurely of a whole Community,) is a duty: on this ſcore Chriſtians fight their Battels on the Lord's-day, the very Aſs is to be pulled out of the Pit, and how the reaſons and ends of Government, for its better manag ry and conſervation did ſtill overrule in the Chriſtian Church, in each of theſe like religious Performances, in the beſt and moſt flouriſhing Times of it, and the Empire when Chriſtian gave Laws, Directions and Limitations, as to the *Collectæ* and Publick Aſſemblies in Ordinations, Excommunications, Abſolutions, *&c.* for the more orderly adminiſtration of the Civil Affairs, is already ſhew'd in this diſcourſe; and yet the things themſelves are immediately from Chriſt, that power is not from the Prince, which warrants and makes effectual the Inſtitutions and Offices of each of them. Chap. 5.

AND if it be replied, that this ſeems to come too near to what the deſign of this diſcourſe is laid againſt, or to be ſure was the occaſion of it. If the *Magiſtrate* and *the Law* §. XV.

Chap. 5. *Law* are to silence and limit in the exercise and profession of these higher Instances of Christianity, what is this less than to submit my Religion to their pleasure? To which I answer, the case is not at all the same, this is only adjusting of Duties in order to a due performance, a suspension upon a higher reason and duty intervening, and both which are equally Christian, or at the most a but concealing some truths upon present reasons and motives, and which every one allows may be done. Should the Prince command me not to say my Prayers at all, as he did *Daniel*, to preach or speak no more in Christ's Name, as the *Sanedrim* did the Apostles, that Ordinations and Censures be no more, Church, both Officers and Offices cease for ever, or which is the case in Mr. *Dean*'s Sermon, should *a false Religion* be commanded in their rooms, and be made the Religion of the Nation, this is the case in which I am to speak before Kings and not be ashamed, when my life is in my hand, as 'tis the expression of holy *David*, with a great many more to that purpose in the hundred and nineteenth Psalm; then I am not only to exercise what is my duty as a private Christian, but to make what *open Proselytes* I can to that Religion, which I am *sure is in the right*, to draw off all I can from that which *is false*, and imposed by the *Magistrate and Law*. This is that confession with the Mouth call'd for all along in the sacred Epistles, Confession at Matyrdome, that ἀναλόγως ἀμαρτίων μετὰ λύτρα in St. *Clemens* Strom. *l.* 4. *p.* 503. an eminent way to gain Mercy for our

our ſins, and 'tis call'd by the Church τελειο-σιν perfection, as he there tells us, pag. 480. ὅτι τέλειον ἔργον ἀγάπης ἀναδέξιο, as the higheſt act of Charity, the greateſt demonſtration of love, when expreſſed to Souls in the profeſſion of *a right*, and reſcuing *from a falſe Religion*, at ſo great a diſtance was it ſet from *groſs hypocriſie*, and which Mr. *Dean demonſtrates* to be ſuch in the next Paragraph of the Sermon. I'le go on ſo far with his Worſhip and Conſent, that where neither *Miracles to juſtifie* the *extraordinary Commiſſion*, as *had the Apoſtles*, nor the *providence* of *God makes way by the permiſſion of the Magiſtrate*, the *Proſelytes* are very like to be few, and ſince the former is ceaſed altogether and never to be more expected, the countenance and protection of the latter is what uſual courſe and common Prudence directs to wait for upon any attempt for converting and reducing of Nations from a *falſe Worſhip*. I find the Propoſal and the Complaint recited and made both at once by our learned Doctor *Hammond* Serm. 10. in *Joh.* 7. 48. *Vol.* 2. I'le here uſe his own Words. "If we ſhould plant Chriſtianity in *Turkey*, "we muſt firſt invade and conquer them, "and then convince them of their Follies, "which about an hundred years ago *Cleonard* propoſed to moſt Courts in *Chriſtendom* (and to that end himſelf ſtudied *Arabick*) that Princes would join their ſtrength "and Scholars their brains, and all ſurprize "them in their own Land and Language, at "once beſiege the *Turk* and his *Alcoran*, put "him to the Sword, and his Religion to the "touch-

Chap. 5. §. XI.

Chap. 5. "touch-ſtone: firſt command him to Chri-
"ſtianity with an high hand, and then to
"ſhew him the reaſonableneſs of the Com-
"mand. Thus alſo we may complain, but
"not wonder, that the reformation gets
"ground ſo ſlow in *Chriſtendom*; becauſe the
"Forces and potent Abetters of Papacy ſe-
"cure them from being led captive to Chriſt,
"as long as the Pope is inveſted ſo faſt in
"his Chair, and as long as the Rulers take
"part with him, there ſhall be no doubt
"of the truth of their Religion, unleſs it
"pleaſe God to back Arguments with ſteel,
"and to raiſe up Kings and Emperors to be
"our Champions, we may queſtion, but ne-
"ver confute his Supremacy. Let us come
"with all the power and rhetorick of *Paul*
"and *Barnabas*, all the demonſtrations and
"reaſons of the Spirit; and yet as long as
"they have ſuch Topicks againſt us, as
"the autority of the Rulers and *Pha-*
"*riſees*, we may diſpute out our hearts, and
"preach out our Lungs and gain no Proſe-
"lytes, we ſhall get but a Scoff and a Curſe,
"a Sarcaſm and an Anathema in the words
"next after my Text, this People that
"know not the Law is accurſed, there is no
"heed to be taken to ſuch poor and con-
"temptible Fellows. But yet if any one's
zeal does engage him to expoſe his Autority
and Perſon upon the ſtock of his own ſingle
ſtrength and oratory, and he does encounter
with theſe many, almoſt impoſſibilities, in
order to the converting of Nations, 'tis to
be ranked with thoſe heroick Actions which
are above the ordinary rule: ſome may pi-
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ty him, and others may applaud him, but none ought abſolutely to condemn him. But then, that he that keeps his ground at home, aſſerts what is *right* and detects the *falſe*, when the one is oppoſed, and the other obtruded, muſt in ſo doing, be a *hypocrite* and act without any *obligation* of *Conſcience*, and which is ſingularly to be obſerved, for this reaſon, becauſe he does not *hold himſelf obliged to go and preach up his Religion and make Converts in* Spain *and* Italy; becauſe he does not think himſelf *bound in conſcience* to preach *the Goſpel in* Turky *to convert the* Mahumetans, is as wide of true reaſoning, and as far from a due concluſion, as is *England* from either, or all, of them: and ſurely Mr. *Dean*'s is the only Pen that ſuch a notion of Hypocriſie ever dropt from. And this is the top of the argument, no *Proteſtant Miniſter* thinks himſelf bound to go and preach the Goſpel in *Italy* or *Spain*: and therefore 'tis hypocriſie when he does it at home, if in the danger he ſuſpects to be there, it has ſcarce appearance enough to make a popular argument from a Pulpit againſt a Prieſt or Jeſuite, and the leſſer womaniſh underſtanding, cannot but ſee the invalidity of it. And admit a Proteſtant Miniſter now in *England* had no other diſſwafives from his going to convert *Spain* (as ſurely he may have many more) than the danger that muſt attend ſuch an undertaking: Surely this alone (though our Sermon is never to the contrary) will abate ſomething as to the obligation of Conſcience: Circumſtances and Objects are uſual- Chap. 5.

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Chap. 5. ly said to specifie and constitute in these like duties, otherwise our whole Church at a blow falls under the guilt of *gross hypocrisie*, whose Canon 67*th* confirm'd by King *James* appoints every Minister upon notice to go and visit the sick in his Parish, unless it be certain, or but probable, that the Disease is contagious; and surely a *Spanish* Inquisition is no less fatal and tremendous, than a Plague-Sore, and the censure is very severe, that every Minister is an *hypocrite*, that visits not every Pest-House in his Parish, *and the danger only throws off the false pretence and disguise* that he before walked under. And I cannot but say it here again, how glad I should be to see the *Priests* and *Jesuites* so confuted and exposed, as that Religion it self comes in no hazard by it, and our selves be not hit through their sides, not to say mortally wounded.

§. XVI. 3. THE Laws of Religion are such as are no wayes arbitrary, but necessarily flow from Religion it self, whether they be those of Nature arising with our Beings, that immediate dependency to God and one another in which created, and which the Gospel supposes and includes, gives new Obligations, Arguments and Motives to their discharge and performance, or whether commencing together with the Gospel it self, as immediately flowing from its publication and reception, as do the former from our natural Beings: nor is it a farther after Institution that gives the Sanction, and by which they become obliging, and 'tis these, and only these Laws which are necessary; and

and only ſo, bind under each circumſtance and immutably, as depending on no Law that is ſuper-induced; ſo neither is there any diſtant Power can but ſuſpend, much leſs repeal and null them, and in ceaſing in any one inſtance and degree in theſe Duties, we ceaſe ſo much, and in the very ſame inſtance of being Men and Chriſtians; I may ſuffer under, but am not to obey, the higheſt Power on Earth, if enjoyning it. God himſelf cannot impoſe it upon the publiſhed Terms of our Creation and Redemption, having firſt made us Men, and afterward by his Son in our fleſh redeemed us, I am always to believe in, and relie upon God and Chriſt, praiſe and make my Prayers unto them. I am always to own and confeſs my Saviour on the croſs, to propoſe and make him my example in all Godlineſs of converſation. I am never to be unmerciful or unjuſt, to be cruel or bloody, to be hateful and hating, to be an adulterer or unclean, to be a Rebel or an Extortioner, this is the Rule ſet up, wrote as with an Adamant, as on a Rock to remain for ever, whoſo doth theſe, or ſuch like things, ſhall in no wiſe enter into the Kingdom of God. Chap. 5.

AND thus we at length come to that one thing *neceſſary*, and the due inquirer may have information, in what he is to obey God and in what to obey Man, in what inſtances of Religion he is indeſpenſably and immutably bound, and in what not, and how his Salvation is upon each depending; we ſee here the infinite Wiſdom of God, in the frame and conſtitution of his Church; a bo- §. XIV.

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Chap. 5. dy it is, and Association, a City, compact and at unity in it self, with its own Laws and Rules, and yet *Ecclesia in Republica*, this Church is in the State or Commonwealth, with a due regard and observancy to it, each ruling and obeying in their courses, neither clashing or interfering, both, of force and obliging, in the several Reasons and Designs of each. We see farther, the same infinite love and tender care of his towards Man, every ways providing for his Heaven and Salvation, in that, having placed him here in this World, liable to the Accidents and Obstructions of it, the changes and chances of this mortal Life, what otherways was his Duty, and Heaven not attainable, but in observancy of its Laws and Rules, is upon these like scores abated and remitted to him; where either the Natural incapacities, or other Necessities of the World, in order to its Conduct and Government injoyn it, and no one thing for Eternal Salvation is always a Duty, in the intendment of the Sanction, with the execution or rigorous exercise of which the Advantages that are are Temporal, and their due conservation are inconsistent. Grace does not destroy Nature, and where God is to be obey'd, and not Man, where the Commands of both are incompetible, and such we have shew'd there are, or may be, the Obedience to God, as in all reason, is first to be perform'd, so is it, what alone is the benefit of Mankind, there is not one instance of what is antecedent Duty, or is really beneficial unto him, abated thereby, and we cannot be either good Men, or good Subjects, if vicious in

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our Morals, if once we renounce these higher Duties of Christianity. God has not made that the immutable term of Man's Salvation, but what is in his own Power, and of which if he fails, 'tis his own perverse will and choice that is debauch'd and betrays him to it; the Carved works of the Temple may be beaten down, the Church-Discipline be weakned, and her Laws and Rules for Holiness become of less force; her Towers and Bulwarks be taken away, and the Secular Protection be withdrawn. I may have neither tongue to speak, nor hands to lift up in prayer, nor feet to walk to the House of God; there may be no Houses of God in our Land, the Tyrant may pull out, or cut off the one, or pull down the other, the daily Sacrifice my cease, and the Priest-hood too, as to particular Persons; and when we say, where *Episcopal* Power is not, there is no Church, we do not so mean, that where it is not Men cannot go to Heaven; these all may be supplyed by an upright heart, and due intentions; God accepts of a Man according to what he hath, and not according to what he hath not. The Sacraments are only generally necessary to Salvation, and so of other duties in the same Order of Sanction. God does not oblige us to the Tyranny of Impossible Commands; to climb up to Heaven, and go down into the Deep, and fetch thence our Eternity; ask of us ten thousand Rams, or a thousand of Rivers of Oyl, or those Cattel upon a thousand Hills for a Sacrifice, μίσθον ἰυχάριτον ἰυναθίαν, as St. *Clement* argues to the *Gentiles*. πρὸς Ἕλλ. and 'tis our own Lust, not others we are to Chap 5

Chap. 5. anſwer for, if not Subdued and Conquered, he does not bind us to go to Heaven when we have no Legs, Move without Faculties, Act without Strength, Live when Dead Men, and with Paralytick Joynts, Enfeebled by Irrecoverable Weakneſs to work out our own Salvation; every Brick-bat, will then make an Altar, and Prayers are to be made every where, with Holy Hands lift up, or but Devout Hearts, without Wrath, and without Doubting; nor is it by Subduing Kings, and Conquering Worldly Powers, we are to go to Heaven, Faith, Love, Dependence upon God, &c. are among thoſe acts of the Soul uſually called *Elicita*, whoſe Practice depends on no outward Faculty; and if ſome Virtues equally indiſpenſable, are otherways ſeated, and among thoſe Acts call'd *Imperata*, and to be perform'd by the outward Organs of the Body, yet are they equally free from outward Force, ſo ſeated in each ones Self, and lodg'd in his Perſon, that no Violence but from a Mans own ſelf can reach them, thoſe the only Enemies that are of his own Houſe, and 'tis every ones own hand that draws his Sword, and makes him a Rebel; his alone Adulterous Eyes and Heart, Promote and Actuate whatever of uncleanneſs is from him, and 'tis neither Perſon, nor Object, nor Quality, any thing that comes croſs, or is of force from within, or without himſelf; whether Devil, or Tyrant, or Luſt, any one accident, or contingency, that can either diſmember him from the Church, or diſunite him from his God, deprive him of ſufficient Means here, or Eternal Life hereafter; even

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the Tyrannies, and Deaths here, will but Advance the Crown, and theſe lighter Afflictions, work for us that more Eternal Weight of Glory; and which Conſiderations, are to be the great Support, and Comfort of all Chriſtians. Should it ſo happen in the courſes of Providence, and Kings and Queens ceaſe to be Nurſing Fathers and Mothers unto us. Should a *Nero*, or a *Domitian*, a *Parliament* of forty two, a *Cromwel*, or a Committee of Safety; or what Aſſociation ſoever be ſet up againſt, and Tyrannize over us, *plane volumus pati, verùm eo modo quo & Bellum miles, nemo quippe libens Bellum patitur, cum et trepidari, & periclitari neceſſe ſit, tamen & præliatur omnibus viribus, et vincens in prælio gaudet, qui de prælio querebatur, quia & Gloriam conſequitur & prædam*, they are the words of *Tertullian*, Apol. *c.* 5. to thoſe Scoffers of the Heathens in his days, and whom *Julian* the Apoſtate after imitated, telling the Chriſtians Afflictions was their Advantage, and to be Loved by them, becauſe their Martyrdom, and Crown. "We muſt willingly ſuffer, and "engage as the Souldier does in War, and "'tis the expectation of Victory, and that re- "compence of Reward, makes us fight on, "and Rejoyce under that Banner, which o- "therwiſe the preſent Difficulties, and Dan- "gers, working on our fears, would engage "us to avoid and run from: 'twas the conſtancy and evenneſs of the Chriſtians, for the Truth, and in Gods Service, δὶ ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐλὰ ἢ δὶ δούλως ἔχοντα, together with their Gravity, Sincerity, their Freedom and Modeſty of Converſation gain'd upon their Enemies, both Chap. 4.

Chap. 5. Greeks and Barbarians, and silenced their baser Slanders, and Calumnies against them; thus, together with the learned discourses and endeavours by Writing, and which were not few, the Church grew and multiplied, as *Eusebius* tells us, *Hist. l. 4. c. 7.* These the Weapons of a Christian Warfare, and the many Shields of the Mighty, these the Spoyls and Trophies they contended for. I know not how in fitter words to conclude this Chapter, than in those of our Noble Historian *Eusebius*, in his Preface to his fifth Book of his Church History, giving an account of those many, and Eminent Martyrs in the days of *Antoninus Verus* ἀλλοὶ μὲν ὧν ἱστορικὰς συνέμενοι διηγήσεις. *&c.* Others making Historical Narrations, have delivered in their Writings, Victories in War, and Trophies over their Enemies, the great Actions of Captains, and the Valour of Souldiers, that had stained their hands in Blood, and a thousand Battels, for their Children, their Country, and their Fortunes; but the History, or the Narrative of the Divine Common-wealth, and Enrollment which is of Heaven, writes on Eternal Pillars, those Peace Designing Battels, in order to the Peace of the Soul, or that are Spiritual. Those that fight in these Battels, for Truth, rather than their Country, for Religion, rather than their Children. The constancy of the Contenders for Piety and their Fortitude in their manifold Sufferings, their Trophies against Devils, and Victories obtain'd against the Invisible Powers, or Enemies, making publick their Crown, *for an Everlasting Remembrance.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

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Of King Edward *VI. That the Biſhops were to uſe not their own, as formerly, but his Name and Seal in their Proceſſes*, &c. *implies no ſuch thing*. Sect. 9.

Of Queen Elizabeth. *King* James, *Sect.* 10, 11.

The King and Church diſtinct Powers in our Statute Book. Our Kings now have but the ſame Power the Empire of old, and their Predeceſſors before the Reformation had. If our Religion by

Chap. 6. *Parliamentary, that anciently was Imperial,* Sect. 12.

Mr. Selden *says, the Parliament of* England *both can, and has actually Excommunicated, and the Bishops Power is derived only from them,* Sect. 13.

The Acts of Parliament he produces, V. VI. Edw. VI. Cap. IV. III. Jacobi. Cap. V. *infer it not,* Sect. 14.

Nor do those of II. III. Edw. VI. Cap. 1. Elizabethæ Cap. II. *that the Prince limits Excommunications in the Execution, is not against the Divine Right of them. His Instances in the Rump Parliament.* Geneva. *The Parliament of* Scotland, III. Jacob. VI. Cap. XLV. *are all against him,* Sect. 15.

Archbishop Whitgift *is not proved to have Licensed* Erastus *his Works for the Press; that they were found in his Study, is no Argument he was an* Erastian; *if Licensed by the Autority of the Nation, no Evidence that his Doctrines were then owned.* Sect. 16.

Our own Doctors of the same Opinion with us, instances in two of them, Sect. 17.

Bishop Bilson, *St.* Ambrose, *one of Doctor* Tillotson's Hypocrites. *A* private Liberty *of Conscience not enough, a* false *Religion to be declared against, though by Autority abetted. Mr.* Dean *gives advantage to the Papists Calumny, That our Religion is only that of our Prince,* Sect. 18.

Bishop Sanderson, *his particular Judgment concerning the Divine Right of Episcopacy,* Sect. 19.

Mr. Selden *objects again, that our own Doctors and Writers are all on the other side. The particular*

particular Authors each reckon'd up. He perverts and abuſes them all, Sect. 20. Chap. 6.

The two Univerſities in their Opus Eximium, *&c. in the Reign of* Henry VIII. 1534. *altogether againſt him*, Sect. 21.

Stephen *Biſhop of* Winchester, Orat. de vera Obedientia, *is of the ſame Mind, and ſo is* Richard Sampſon, *Dean of the Chappel to* Henry VIII. *in an Oration to this purpoſe.* Sect. 22.

The Papers in the Cottonian *Library ſeems the ſame with Dr.* Stillingfleet's M. SS. *in his* Irenicum. *Both he and Dr.* Burnet *unfaithful in the Printing of it. Dr.* Durell's *account of it. Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *with the Biſhops and Doctors engaged in our firſt Reformation were not* Eraſtians, *from the account given of them, in his Church Hiſtory, by Dr.* Burnet. *Leſs Diſcretion in Printing ſuch Papers; nor is their Authority really to be any thing*, Sect. 23.

Mr. Selden *is ſhameleſs in quoting Biſhop* Andrews, *who determines all along againſt him. Thoſe Laws that Protect the Church, muſt in courſe inſpect their Actions. The Biſhop diſſwaded* Grotius *from Printing his Book* De Imperio ſummarum Poteſtatum in Sacris. Ha' y' any Work for a Cooper, *is indeed of Mr.* Selden's *ſide, and the Lord* Falkland. *His very ill Speech in the Houſe of Commons*, 1641. *His* Pulpit Law, *and Deciſion of the Divine Right of Kings, as well as of the Church. He, and ſuch like Speech-makers, Promoters of the late Rebellion, affronts both to King and Prieſt deſign'd at once, when the Crown is entitled to the Prieſthood*, Sect. 24.

Chap. 6. *Archbiſhop* Bancroft, *Archbiſhop* Whitgift, *and Biſhop* Bilſon *under the Suſpition of* Eraſtianiſm. *Accuſed as ſuch by* Robert Parker de Politeia Eccleſiaſtica, *a Malicious Schiſmatick, made uſe of ſtill againſt our Church by* Dailee *againſt* Ignatius *his Epiſtles, by Doctor* Stillingfleet *in his* Irenicum. *Our Biſhops and Doctors are not againſt the Divine immutable Right of Biſhops; as Doctor* Stillingfleet *miſtook out of* Parker, *and reports them to be. Satisfaction may juſtly be required of him for it.* Sect. 25.

The Writings of the beſt Men, how they may be miſtaken, as of Juſtin Martyr. *The firſt Council of* Nice. *St.* Jerome *concerning Chaſtity, and Epiſcopacy. Biſhop* Cranmer *and our firſt Reformers. Biſhop* Whitgift, Bancroft, *and* Bilſon. *The Point was at firſt only the Biſhop of* Rome's *Supremacy. A ſecular title only, no Characteriſtical mark then betwixt the Proteſtant, and Papiſt. The Lay-Elders in their Conſiſtory ſet up after this, as Popes in his room. Theſe our Biſhops warmth was exerciſed againſt whatever indiſcretion in laying the Argument. The Power of the Prince and the Prieſt, are ſtill contra-diſtinguiſhed. Kings are not Governors next and immediately under Chriſt, as the Mediator. The miſtake of many in their Pulpit Prayer. Our Kings and Church do not thence derive their Power, nor ſo claim it in their Acts, Statutes, Declarations, Articles,* &c. *in the forms of bidding Prayer, by Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James, *&c. of ill conſequence if they do. Doctor* Hammond's *Autority,* Sect. 26.

Particular Doctors, not the Rule in Religion, The ſeveral ways by which Error comes into the World.

World. Julian's *Plot to destroy Christianity.* Chap. 6.
How Pelagius *managed his Heresie, by Rich and Potent Women, by feigned Autorities of great Men.* Liberius *of* Rome *and* Hosius, *comply with Arianism wearied with Persecutions.* Theodosius *his* Doctores Probabiles, *Cod. 16. Theodos. Tit. 1. l. l. 2, 3.*

THE last general of this Discourse now follows, and I am to shew that what hath hitherto been said, concerning Church Power, as a Specifick, and distinct from any thing in either the People or the Crown, is agreeable with the particular Establishments by the Laws of our Kingdom made for the owning and defence of Christianity, and by consequence with the Religion it self so own'd and profess'd in our Church since the Reformation. §. I.

AN undertaking I do not therefore engage in, as if these Doctrines of our common Christianity, receiv'd from the beginning, and devolv'd all along downward in the first Ages, as is already shew'd, could obtain further Autority, or expected an after Sanction and Establishment from us, and e're fully assented to and received, wanted force and obligation, was to be abated of, or abolished, where not according to our particular ordering, model and constitution, framed and drawn up, autorized and made publick, Fifteen hundred years after, this is absurd in the Proposal, and must be worse in the Practice; it runs, as it ought to do, contrary to our selves, to the Plot and Design of this our Church, §. II.

Chap. 6. Church, in each of her Collections, Articles, Injunctions, Canons, Constitutions, and Homilies appointed to be read in the Churches in the time of Q. *Elizabeth.*

And altogether to our purpose are the Homilies composed by the Bishops, limiting Church-Power to the Priesthood, and apparently distinguishing betwixt the Autority and Laws of the Church and State, assigning different Ends and Effects unto each.

Part 2. *Of the Sermon of Good Works.* 'This 'arrogancy God detested, that Man should 'so advance his Laws, to make them equal 'with God's Laws, wherein the true honou-'ring and worshipping of God standeth, 'and to make his Laws for them to be left 'off. God hath appointed his Laws, where-'in his Pleasure is to be honoured: His Plea-'sure is also, That all mens Laws, not being 'contrary unto his Laws, shall be obeyed and 'kept, as good and necessary for every Com-'mon-wealth; but not as things wherein 'principally his honour resteth, and all Civil 'and Mans Laws, either be or should be 'made, to bring Men better to keep God's 'Laws, that consequently, or followingly, 'God should be the better honoured by 'them.

Part 2. *Of the Sermon of the right Use of the Church.* 'And according to this Exam-'ple of our Saviour, in the Primitive Church '(whipping the Buyers and Sellers out of the 'Temple) which was most Holy and Godly, 'and in the which due Discipline with seve-'rity was used against the wicked, open Of-'fenders were not suffered once to enter into

'the

'the Houſe of the Lord, nor admitted to Chap. 6.
'Common Prayer, and the Uſe of the Holy
'Sacraments with other true Chriſtians, until
'they had done open Penance before the
'whole Church; and this was practiſed, not
'only upon mean Perſons, but alſo upon the
'Rich, Noble, and Mighty Perſons. Yea,
'upon *Theodoſius*, that Puiſſant and Mighty
'Emperor, whom for committing a grievous
'and wilful Murder, St. *Ambroſe* Biſhop of
'*Millain* reproved ſharply, and (*'tis in the*
'*Margin, he was only debarred from receiving the Sacrament, until by Repentance he might be better prepared, Chryſoſt.*) did alſo Excommunicate the ſaid Emperor, and
'brought him to open Penance; and they
'that were ſo juſtly exempted and baniſh'd
'(as it were) from the Houſe of the Lord,
'were taken (as they be indeed) for Men divided and ſeparated from Chriſt's Church,
'and in moſt dangerous eſtate; yea, as
'St. *Paul* ſaith, even given unto Sathan the
'Devil for a time, and their company was
'ſhunn'd and avoided of all Godly Men and
'Women, until ſuch time as they by Repentance and publick Penance were reconciled.

Part 2. *Of the Homily of Faſting.* 'It is
'neceſſary that we make a difference between
'the Policies of Princes, made for the ordering of their Common-weals, in proviſion
'of things ſerving to the moſt ſure defence
'of their Subjects and Countries, and between Eccleſiaſtical Policies in preſcribing
'ſuch Works; by which, as by ſecondary
'means, God's Wrath may be pacified, and

'his

Chap. 6. 'his Mercy purchaſed. An inſtance of the 'one is in enjoyning Abſtinence from Fleſh; 'for the increaſe of Victuals, and the better 'ſuſtenance of the Poor, and the furniture 'of the Navy, the forbearing ſome piece of 'licentious Appetite upon the Ordinance of 'the Prince, with the conſent of the Wiſe 'of the Realm. An inſtance of the other is, 'preſcribing a form of Faſting, to humble 'our ſelves in the ſight of Almighty God, and 'which binds the Conſcience, as to time and 'occaſion, and other Circumſtances as the 'Church reqnires, and which has Power to 'enjoyn or relax; as is to be ſeen in the 'Homily.

Each Law of the Kingdom relating to Religion, which ſtill ſuppoſe whatever is taught and reported, enacted and made Law, receiv'd and ſubmitted to, maintain'd and proteſted, as the Eſtabliſhments of our Church and State, *to be bottomed on the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and what the Catholick Fathers and ancient Biſhops have thence Collected, particularly in the four firſt General Councils, or any other General Council*, 10 *Elizabetha, Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 36. Nor does our Reformation commence upon any other Grounds, than a ſuppoſed depravation and defection, as to ſuch that firſt *depoſitum*; thoſe Rules and Practices depending, and with a purpoſe to reſtore and reinforce them; and did I believe our Church of *England* not to have followed this Rule, did I find her any wayes but ſwerving from, and much rather then if running croſs to, any one or more of thoſe Primitive Standards, deſignedly erected for the Pillars of

of Truth, the conſtant Marks and Copies for the practice and adherency of future Ages, always obliging (for all Church Laws and Practice are not ſo, even of the moſt Primitive Church, even the Laws and Practice Apoſtolical.) I would be ſo far from abetting, or cloſing with ſuch her Autority, and Actions, that I would immediately go over to and embrace the Rule wherever, or if any where, to be found, in the Iſle of *Patmos* with St. *John*, or in the Cave with Holy *Athanaſius*; as not *Magiſtracy* and *Law*, ſo not the Reformed Church of *England*, ſhould be my either fear or obligation to the contrary, be the croſſer Circumſtances whatſoever or whereſoever, that attend me, could I not joyn with a preſent viſible Church, or Body of Believers, in the Enjoyment and Profeſſion of it. This is only that, which as my own Satisfaction, ſo I endeavour to make it others, that as Born and Baptized in the Church of *England*, and ſtill in Union with her, and my ſelf in particular, as a Presbyter there, have ſubſcribed to her Articles, Canons and Conſtitutions; ſo 'tis to and in that Church which is every ways Primitive and Apoſtolical, and particularly in this inſtance of Church-Power; and that it is ſo is eaſily and readily to be demonſtrated, and which I ſhall endeavour to do, *Methodo Synthetica*, as they ſpeak, as it lies in the courſe of things and actions. 1. In the Judgment and by the Determinations of our Church, in her conciliary Acts, Articles, Canons, Rubricks, in her Book of Ordination, *&c.* 2. By the publick Acts and Determinations of the Prince both in Parliament and Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. and out of it, in his Statutes, Injunctions, and Proclamations, making Law these Antecedent Church Determinations, and Autorities preceding. 3. From our own particular Doctors, in their several Tracts and Writings.

§. III. THAT this Power is not any ways supposeable in the People in our Church or Kingdom, 'tis clear in the form of ordering Deacons and Priests, and which is made Law in the Realm, where all that the Bishop addresses himself to the People for is this. *Whether* (as supposed to be more conversant with them) *they know any notable Crime* they are guilty of, and which may render them unfit for the said Holy Function; the words of the Bishop are these, *Brethren, if there be any among you that know any Impediment, or notable Crime in any of these Persons for which he ought not to be admitted into this Holy Ministry, let him come forth in the Name of God, and shew what the Crime and Impediment is.* The People are no more concern'd in *Ordinations*, then as Testimonies of the manners of those who are to be Ordain'd, and in which alone they were concern'd of old, and in the Articles and Constitutions taking care that fit Men be admitted to Holy Orders; what relates to the People, and they are to be enquired of, is a Testimony of their Conversations; and if the Bishop lay hands on suddenly, and without due Enquiry and competent Satisfaction, and the Person ordained prove unworthy, the Orders notwithstanding are valid, the Penalty is laid on the Bishop, he is to be suspended, and to ordain no more for two years.

years. *Articuli pro clero* 1584. *Conſtitutiones Eccleſiaſticæ*, 1597. *ut homines idonei ad ſacros ordines admittantur.* Chap. 6.

§. IV. IT were needleſs Pains to inſiſt on, and ſhew the particular judgment of our Church, Whether this Power be in her Paſtors alone, excluſive to, as the People, ſo the Prince alſo; the Rubricks in the Common-Prayer Book ſuppoſe, and farther inveſt, all Offices there in the Hieratical Order, what ever relate to the Divine Worſhip and Service, and which are by them alone to be perform'd, the Prieſt is ſtill diſtinguiſhed from the People or Laity, nor is the Prince there conſidered, but as of the Laity, in attendance in Common with the other Worſhippers: and to be ſure in the Book of Ordination, 'tis the Biſhop lays on Hands and Conſecrates, he the origin and head of all Power derived, whether to Biſhop, Presbyter or Deacon, and in what degree ſoever of Power it is that is given. *That Perſon which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the Faithful as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by Penance, and received into the Church by a Judg that hath Autority thereunto*; as among the Articles of Religion 1562. Article 33. and this Judg is neither Chancellor, Official nor Commiſſary, *&c.* but a Biſhop or Presbyter: the Arch-Deacon cannot do it, if not a Presbyter, and but in Deacon's Orders, in theſe alone is the Power of both retaining and abſolving, in the *Articuli pro clero*, 1584. and the *libri quorundam Canonum*, &c.

Chap. 6. &c. and in the *constitutiones Ecclesiastica*, 1597. and all set out by Queen *Elizabeth*; he that would once for all be satisfied what is the sense of our Church, let him but once read over our seven and thirthieth Article of Religion, together with the occasion of it, and he must be convinced that her Judgment is on our side, however 'tis received, whether as Orthodox or Erroneous by him. Among other Articles agreed upon by the Bishops, and other learned Godly Men in the Convocation held at *London* 1552. this was one. *The King of* England *is supreme Head in Earth, next under Christ, of the Church of* England *and* Ireland. Many bad Inferences were made, and sinister Consequences affixed, and particularly that the King was declared a Priest, impower'd to administer in Divine Service. In the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* 1561. (and till which time, during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, the Objection, to be sure, had been urged sufficiently, and improved) a Convocation being called, and Articles agreed upon by the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the 37*th* Article; and in answer to the Objection, they more fully explain themselves in these Words, and declare, 'The Queens Majesty hath the chief 'Power in this Realm of *England* and other 'her Dominions, unto whom the chief Go-'vernment of all Estates of this Realm, whe-'ther they be Ecclesiastical or Civil in all 'Causes do appertain, and is not, nor 'ought not to be, subject to any foreign 'Jurisdiction.

'Where

'Where we attribute to the Queens Ma- Chap. 6
'jesty the chief Government, by which Ti-
'tles we understand the Minds of some dan-
'gerous Folk to be offended: We give not
'our Princes the ministring either of God's
'Word, or of the Sacraments, the which
'thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by
'*Elizabeth* our Queen, do most plainly testi-
'fie, but that only Prerogative, which we
'see to have been given always to all God-
'ly Princes in holy Scripture by God him-
'self, that is, that they should rule all Estates
'and Degrees committed to their Charge
'by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical
'or Temporal, and restraining with the
'Civil Sword the stubborn and Evil do-
'ers.

§. V. AND this is all is laid claim to by our Princes themselves, and that the Statute-book or any other claim of theirs entitles to and invests them withal, in the late collection of Articles, Canons, *&c.* made by *Anthony Sparrow* now Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, I meet with nothing done by King *Henry* VIII. save what is mentioned by King *Edward* VI. in the entrance to his Injunctions 1547. and which are there transcribed with his own additions: the design and end of which is only to *procure publick* and *general obedience to the Laws and Duties of true Religion, and that every Man truely observe them, as they will avoid his Displeasure and Penalties annexed.* All that *Henry* VIII got by the submission of the Clergy in the five and twentieth year of his reign *cap.* 19. was this, as there set down in the Statute: *That the Cler-*

Chap. 6. *gy would not for the time to come aſſemble in convocation without the King's Writ, That they would not enact, promulge or execute any new Canons, Conſtitutions, Ordinance provincial or other, or by whatſoever Name they ſhall be called in Convocation; unleſs the King's Royal licenſe be had, his Aſſent and Conſent in that behalf. That all Canons, Conſtitutions before made prejudicial to the King's Prerogative Royal, repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, or overmuch onerous to the Subject, be abrogated and of no value, all other ſtanding in their full ſtrength and power, the King's Aſſent firſt had unto them.* The meaning of all which appears only to be this, That nothing relating to Church-Affairs and Proceedings, is to be made Law, or to be proceeded for or againſt in any outward Court whatever in a forenſick judicial way, but by the leave and autority of the King; without his Royal Aſſent firſt had, and his hand ſet to it. And this is that Title of the *ſupreme Head* of the Church of *England*, which he hereupon aſſum'd to himſelf, and which ſome little time afterwards confirm'd to him in full Parliament, his Heirs and Succeſſors: the Power of the Church it ſelf is not at all abated, as purely ſuch, and from our Saviour, only brought to a dependency upon the King, which before was upon the Biſhop of *Rome*, and who had exercised here that headſhip and ſtill claims it.

§. VI. AND that this was really all the King then aim'd at by the *ſubmiſſion* of the Clergy, *viz.* a Right and Supremacie of Inſpection over all Perſons in all Cauſes within his Realms

Realms and Dominions, and that no Pleas of Religion, or the ſervice of Chriſt, is to exempt them from the judicial Cognizance and Jurisdiction of their Prince: this will appear more plain and evident by the ſeveral Proceedings and Acts concerning Church-Affairs made by this King, in that 19 *cap.* and five and twentieth year of his Reign, where the ſubmiſſion of the Clergy is turned into an Act, and in the ſeveral Acts enſuing; in all which it does not appear that he ever aſſumed to himſelf and exerciſed any other, than ſuch like external Power and Autority in *ſpiritual* Matters; he intermedles not with any one Inſtance of Prieſtly Power as purely ſuch, but on the contrary cautions, with Clauſes and Preventions, leſt any ſuch thing ſhould be, or be ſuppoſeable ſo, in the Objection, the ſeveral Acts are theſe. *That no one Canon of the Church have the force of a Law, but what is appointed by ſuch Inſpector of the Canons as he ſhall name and appoint. That no Appeals be made to* Rome *upon the Penalty and Danger contained and limited in the Act of Proviſion and Premunire made in the* 16th *year of King* Richard II. *That all the Canons not repugnant to the Laws of the Realm, or to the Damage of the King's Prerogative Royal, are to be uſed and executed, as they were before the making this Act. That no licenſe is to be required from the See of* Rome, *for the Conſecrating and Inveſtiture of Biſhops. That 'tis in the King alone to nominate and preſent them. That the Pope has no Power in Spiritual Cauſes to give Licenſes, Diſpenſations, Faculties, Grants,* &c. Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. *all this is to be done at home by our own Bishops and in our own Synods and Councils.* cap. 21. *and this Provision is particularly made* Sect. 19. ibid. *provided that this Act, or any thing or things herein contained, shall be hereafter interpreted or expounded: that your Grace your Nobles and Subjects intend by the same to decline or vary from the Congregation of Christ's Church, in any thing concerning the very Articles of the Catholick Faith of* Christendom, *or in any other things declared in Holy Scripture, and the Word of God necessary for yours and their Salvation: but only to make an Ordinance by Policies necessary and convenient to repress Vice. And for good conservation of this Realm in Peace, Unity and Tranquility from Ravine and Spoyl, insuing much the old ancient Customes of this Realm in that behalf, not minding to seek for any Relief, Succor or Remedies, for any worldly things and humane Laws in any case of necessity, but within this Realm at the hands of your Highness, your Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, which have, and ought to have, an Imperial Power and Autority in the same, and not obliged in any worldly Causes to any Superior.*

§. VII. IN the 26*th* year of his Reign *cap.* 1. when declared Supreme Head of the Church of *England* in Parliament, as before recognized by the Clergy, the Power he thereby is invested with is also declared, *viz. To visit, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such Errors, Heresies, Abuses, Offences, Contempts and Enormities whatsoever they be: which by any manner of spiritual Autority or Jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed,*

formed, repreſſed, order'd, redreſſed, corrected, Chap. 6.
reſtrained or amended, moſt to the pleaſure of Almighty God, the increaſe of Virtue in Chriſt's Religion, and for the conſervation of Unity, Peace and Tranquility of this Realm. cap. 14. *he appoints the number of ſuffragan Biſhops, the Places of their reſidence, and the Arch-Biſhop is to conſecrate them.* In the 28*th* year of his Reign *cap.* 10. The King may nominate ſuch number of Biſhops, Sees for Biſhops, Cathedral Churches, and endow them with ſuch Poſſeſſions as he will. In the 31*th* year *cap.* 14. *he defends the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, the Sacrament in but one kind, enacts that all Heretick's be burnt and their Goods forfeited, that no Prieſt may marry; for Maſſes, Auricular Confeſſion,* &c. *in the* 34, 5. cap. 1. *recourſe muſt be had to the Catholick Apoſtolick Church for the deciſion of Controverſies. And therefore all Books of the Old and New Teſtament in Engliſh, being of* Tindal's *falſe Tranſlation, or compriſing any matter of Chriſtian Religion, Articles of the Faith or Holy Scripture contrary to the Doctrine ſet forth ſithence* Anno Domini 1540. *or to be ſet forth by the King, ſhall be aboliſhed; no Printer or Book-ſeller ſhall utter any of the ſaid Books, no Perſons ſhall play or interlude, ſing or rhime contrary to the ſaid Doctrine, no Perſon ſhall retain any Engliſh Books or Writings concerning Matter againſt the holy and bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, or for the maintenance of the Anabaptiſts, or other Books aboliſhed by the King's Proclamation. There ſhall be no Annotations or Preambles in Bibles or new Teſtaments in Engliſh, the Bible ſhall not be read in Engliſh in a-*

Chap. 6. *ny Church, no Women,* &c. *to read the New Teſtament in Engliſh, nothing ſhall be taught contrary to the Kings Injunctions, and if any ſpiritual Perſon preach, teach or maintain any thing contrary to the King's Inſtructions or Determinations made or to be made, and ſhall thereof be convict, he ſhall for his firſt Offence recant, for his ſecond abjure and bear a fagot, for the third he ſhall be adjudged an Heretick, and be burnt, and looſe all his Goods and Chattels.* In the 37. year *cap.* 17. The full Power and Autority he hath by being *Supreme Head of the Church of* England, *is, To correct, puniſh and repreſs all manner of Hereſies, Errors, Vices, Sins, Abuſes, Idolatries, Hypocriſes and Superſtitions, ſprung and growing within the ſame, and to exerciſe all other manner of Jurisdiction called Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction.* Sect. 1. and Sect. 3. 'tis farther added, *To whom by Holy Scriptures all Authority and Power is wholly given to hear and determine all manner of Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; and to correct Vice and Sin whatſoever, and to all ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty ſhall appoint thereunto.* And ſo far is all this from deriving to himſelf, and exerciſing any thing of the Prieſt-hood, that he is *totidem verbis* declared and reputed only *a Lay-Man* in the firſt Section of that Chapter: nor do any one of theſe Inſtances here produced, amount to any more than to the defending and guarding by Laws, Truth, and puniſhing and repreſſing Errors, whether in Doctrines or in Manners, at leaſt ſuch as are ſo reputed by the Church and State.

§. VIII. 'TIS true and eaſily obſervable, that juſt upon the aſſuming to himſelf the Title of the

the *ſupreme Head* of the Church, there was ground enough for ſuſpition that the Church her ſelf, and all her Power was to be laid aſide: and whereas the reaſon and end of every particular Parliament before, and of each of his till then is ſtill ſaid to be for the *honor of God and holy Church, and for the Common-Weale and Profit of this Realm*, 'tis abated, and ſaid only for the *honor of God* and for the *Common-Weale and Profit of this Realm*, the *benefit of holy Church*, is, in words at leaſt, left out, and in the room of it is once added to the *conſervation of the true Doctrine of Chriſt's Religion.* As if the deſign was according to the Models now adayes framed and endeavour'd by private Perſons to be ſet up. That the care was to be only of Doctrines, in which, and in charity and love and abatements to one another, the Eſſence of Church-Unity in general, and each Chriſtian with another conſiſts. But yet however this ſo hapned, or upon what deſign either in himſelf or others, 'tis certain he abridged not the Church-Men of any one Inſtance of that Secular worldly Power (as that of the *ſupremacie* derived unto them is called 25 *Henry* VIII. *cap.* 21.) in the outward Courts and Jurisdiction Eccleſiaſtical: neither did he in his Practice, either in his own Perſon, or the Perſons of Church-Men, by a Plea of deriving the Power unto them from himſelf, take upon him any thing eſſential to the Prieſt-hood, as to determine in Matters of Faith, decide Controverſies, to officiate at the Altar, to ordain, *&c.* even to appoint Laws and Canons for diſcipline or Proceed- Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. ings in that Convocation called and continued by his Power, but as there first debated and determined, framed into a Rule, and in presiding over whom his headship so much consisted.

§. IX. WEE'L go on from King *Henry* VIII. to King *Edward* VI. and in the first year of his Reign *cap.* 2. *Sect.* 3. we meet with a notable alteration made in Words, and though no more, yet may make a shew, as if he assumed a farther new Power to himself, as *Supreme head of the Church*, which King *Henry* VIII. did not do before him: and whereas the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other spiritual Persons do use to make and send out their Summons, Citations and Proces's in their own Names, and with their own Seals, it is enacted, That they be made and sent out in the Name and with the Seal of the King, *&c.* but this relating only to the Courts Eccles'astical, as in the Words of the Statute, and by which the King is own'd the *Supreme* by the Clegy, as 'tis also in the Statute worded and acknowledged; nor can any Arch-Bishop, Bishop, *&c.* summon any of the King's Subjects to any Place without his leave, and not enabled by him; the King may authorize them in what form he pleas'e, whether of that of the Common-Law, or in any other, as in that of Majors in Corporations, or Vice-Chancellors in the University, or Court-Leets, which latter was the form, and is by this Act abolish'ed, and the first brought into its room, and upon what reasons soever this Act was laid and pass'ed in King *Edward*'s days, or repealed by Queen *Mary*,

Mary, as to be ſure the two Parties, the Puritan and the Papiſt, thought they ſerved themſelves and particular Deſigns in it, it was never re-enforced by any ſucceeding Parliaments, nor attempted, that I have met with, in the days of either Queen *Elizabeth* or King *James*, or King *Charles* the firſt or ſecond. The Prince was not thought to looſe or gain any thing, as to his Autority, in Spirituals, which way ſoever it went, nor the Biſhops to have any Plea of inroding the Errors, by ſo uſing it, as they now do, in their own Names, and with their own Seals, as by the male-contented and puritanical Party in the days of King *Charles* the firſt it was objected they did; and they libelled and traduced for it, but are ſufficiently vindicated therein by the reverend Father in God *Robert Sanderſon* late Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln* in a Treatiſe called, *Epiſcopacy* (as eſtabliſhed by the Laws in *England*) *not prejudicial to regal Power*. And even in this very Statute of *Edward* VI. the Biſhops are to uſe their own Seals and Names in all *faculties*, *diſpenſations*, *collations*, *inſtitutions*, *inductions*, *letters of Orders*, &c. and in limiting which alſo to his own Name and Seal the King's *ſupremacy* had been equally aſſerted, nay, more concern'd, becauſe peculiarly enlarged, if that the thing was aimed at; for the granting Letters of Orders is what is purely hieratical, and ſolely Epiſcopal, ſeated in the higheſt Order of the Prieſt-hood, a peculiar embelliſhment to the Crown and the Biſhops, by acting in the other Inſtances in their own Names and by their own Seals, muſt have in

Chap. 6.

as

Chap. 6. as his high a degree invaded, a most singular and choice Prerogative of the Prince, the right of Investiture, admission into Temporals, Institution and Induction into Benefices are Acts purely worldly and secular and originally in the Crown; could an Objection be framed from the particular Form either ways, and such its Circumstances, as indeed and really cannot be.

§. X. I come next to Queen *Elizabeth*, where we shall find that as she reassumed the Supremacie in the first year of her Reign, alienated by Queen *Mary*, and this by Act of Parliament *cap.* 1. in which is the Oath of Supremacy to be taken, as in that Act ordered and limited: and because a great many Cavils were made, and sinister malicious Constructions. The Queen her self in that very Year endeavors to rescue her Subjects, and disentangle them from all such Jealousies, and among her Injunctions 1559 for Peace and Order in the Church and State, there is an *admonition to simple Men deceived by Malitious.* The Words are these, which, though many, I'le here transcribe, and in effect but the same with those of the Convocation 1562. on the very same occasion. 'The Queens 'Majesty being informed, That in certain 'Places of the Realm, sundry of her Native 'Subjects being call'd to Ecclesiastical Mini- 'stry of the Church, be by sinister Perswasion 'and perverse construction induced to find 'some Scruple in the form of an Oath, which 'by an Act of the late Parliament is pre- 'scribed, to be required of divers Persons 'for the recognition of their Allegiance to

'her

'her Majeſty: which certainly was never Chap. 6.
'meant, nor by any equity of Words or good
'Senſe can be there from gather'd, would
'that all her loving Subjects ſhould under-
'ſtand, that nothing was, is, or ſhall be meant
'or intended by the ſame Oath than was ac-
'knowledged to be due to the moſt noble
'King of famous Memory King *Henry* VIII.
'her Majeſties Father, or King *Edward* the
'VI. her Majeſties Brother. And farther, her
'Majeſty forbiddeth all manner her Subjects
'to give ear and credit to ſuch perverſe
'and malicious Perſons, which moſt ſiniſter-
'ly and maliciouſly labour to notifie to her
'loving Subjects how by word of the ſaid
'Oath it may be collected, that the King
'and Queens, Poſſeſſors of the Crown, may
'challenge Autority and Power of Miniſtry
'of divine Service in the Church; wherein
'her ſaid Subjects be much abuſed by ſuch e-
'vil diſpoſed Perſons, for certainly her Majeſty
'neither doth nor ever will challenge any Au-
'tority than that was challenged and lately
'uſed by the ſaid noble Kings of famous Me-
'mory King *Henry* VIII, and King *Edward* VI,
'which is and was in Ancient time due to the
'Imperial Crown of this Realm, that is un-
'der God to have the Soveraignty and Rule
'over all manner of Perſons born within
'theſe her Realms, Dominions and Countries,
'of what Eſtate either Eccleſiaſtical or Tem-
'poral ever they be, ſo as no other Foreign
'Power ſhall or ought to have any Superio-
'rity over them; And if any Perſon that has
'conceived any other ſenſe of the Form of
'the ſaid Oath, ſhall accept the ſame Oath

'with

Chap. 6. 'with this interpretation, ſenſe or meaning, 'her Majeſty is well pleaſed to accept every 'ſuch in that behalf as her good and obedient 'Subjects, and ſhall acquit them of all man-'ner of Penalties contemn'd in the ſaid Act 'againſt ſuch as ſhall peremptorily and ob-'ſtinately refuſe to take the ſame Oath. And becauſe this is more private, her Majeſty declares in Parliament this very ſame thing, in her firſt year, *Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 14. 'Provided alſo 'that the Oath expreſſed in the ſaid Act, 'made in the firſt year, ſhall be taken and 'expounded in ſuch Form as is ſet forth in an 'Admonition annexed to the Queens Majeſties 'Injunctions Publiſhed in the firſt year of her 'Majeſties Reign, that is to ſay, To confeſs 'and acknowledge in her Majeſty, her Heirs, 'and Succeſſors, none other Autority than 'that was challenged, and lately uſed by the 'noble King *Henry* VIII. and King *Edward* 'the VI. as in the ſaid Admonition more plain-'ly may appear.

§. XI. KING *James*, who is next, comes up to the ſame Point, and in his Proclamation before the Articles of Religion, thus declares, 'That We are the Supreme Governor of the 'Church of *England*, and if any difference 'ariſe about the external Polity, concerning 'Injunctions, Canons, or other Conſtitutions 'whatſoever, thereunto belonging, the Cler-'gy in their Convocation is to order and ſet-'tle them, having firſt obtained leave under 'Our Broad Seal ſo to do, We approving their 'ſaid Ordinances and Conſtitutions, provided 'that none be made contrary to the Laws and 'Cuſtoms of this Land.——That out of Our 'Princely

'Princely Duty and Care, the Churchmen 'may do the Work that is proper for them; 'the Bishops and Clergy from time to time in 'Convocation have leave to do what is neces- 'sary to the settling the Doctrine and Disci- 'pline of this Church. Chap. 6.

§. XII. SO that I think no more need be said to satisfie any reasonable Person, that the King and the Church are two distinct Powers, in the sense of the Statute Book or in Parliament Language; nor do our Kings interpose in Religious Matters, any otherways than to make Religion Law, what the Church in Convocation determines, and recommends as the Tradition of Faith, as agreeing to the Holy Scriptures, and the Collections of the Ancient Fathers and Holy Bishops therefrom, and to the guarding it with Penalties to be inflicted on such as oppose and violate it, just as the first Christian Emperors did. Nor can our Religion since the Reformation be any otherwaies called a *Parliament* Religion then it might have been called so before, where the same Secular Power is equally extended and executed, as in case of the *Lollards* certain supposed Hereticks, *Subverting the Christian Faith, the Law of God, and the Church and Realm, to the extirpating of them, and taking care that they be punished by the Ordinaries,* II. *Henry* V. Cap. VIII. and so before IV. *Henry* IV. Cap. XV. where the Laws are these, *None shall Preach without the License of the Diocesane of the same place. None shall Preach or Write any Book contrary to the Catholick Faith, or the Determination of the Holy Church. None shall make any Conventicles of such Sects and*

Chap. 6. *and wicked Doctrines, nor ſhall favour ſuch Preachers. Every Ordinary may Convent before him, and Impriſon any Perſon ſuſpected of Hereſie. An obſtinate Heretick ſhall be burnt before the People.* And VI. *Richard* II. Cap. V. Commiſſions are directed *to Sheriffs and others to apprehend ſuch as be certified by the Prelates to be Preachers of Hereſies, their Fautors, Maintainers and Abettors, and to hold them in ſtrong Priſon until they juſtifie themſelves according to the Laws of Holy Church.* And which is more remarkable, in the II. and III. of this King, *Cap.* VI. the choice of Pope *Urban* is made Law, and confirmed in Parliament, and 'tis by them Commanded that he be accepted and obey'd. But does the Pope of *Rome* therefore return and owe his Autority to the Parliament of *England?* how would they of *Rome* ſcorn ſuch a thing if but inſinuated? and yet the Act of Parliament was in its deſign acceptable and advantageous to them; they had the Civil Autority thereby to back and aſſiſt them as occaſion, and which might work that Submiſſion to the preſent Election; his *Holineſſe*'s *Bulls* could not do, at leaſt, ſo readily and effectually. That this Nation did always underſtand the outward Policy of the Church, or Government of it, in *foro exteriori*, to depend upon the Prince, a learned Gentleman, late of the County of *Kent*, Sir *Roger Twiſden* Knight and Baronet, has given a very ſatisfactory account, to them that will receive any, in his *Hiſtorical Vindication of the Church of* England *in Point of Schiſm*, &c. *Cap.* 5. practiſed by the beſt of Kings before the Conqueſt, *Ina, Canutus, Edward*

ward the Confeſſor, whoſe Praiſes are upon Record in the Romaniſts account of them; and the laſt a Canonized Saint, and to which they were often ſupplicated by the moſt Holy Biſhops. Upon the ſame Grounds are we to laugh at their Folly or Madneſs, or rather Malice, when they taunt us with a Parliament-Religion, which has only the benefit of the Government for its Protection, and our Kings do but that Duty is laid upon them by St. *Paul*, take care that *under them we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty.* Chriſtianity it ſelf ever ſince *Conſtantine*'s time, may be as well reproach'd, that it was *Imperial*, or, which is in effect the ſame, *Parliamental.* Since the Empire was Chriſtian and defended it; nay while it was Heathen, for ſome particular Emperors, upon ſome occaſions have adhered to and protected it, and that it had no other bottom than Reaſons of State, and a worldly Complyance (and the lewd Pen of *Baxter* in his Prophaner Hiſtory of Biſhops, *&c. Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 37. gives the ſame account of the Church's increaſe under *Conſtantine*, on the ſcore of Temporal Immunities. *That a Murderer that was to be hang'd, if a Chriſtian, was but to be kept from the Sacrament, and do ſome confeſſing Penance*, &c.) for thoſe Governors then aſſum'd the ſame Power in Religious Matters, as have done our Kings ſince the Reformation, as muſt appear to him that compares the two Codes, Novels, and Conſtitutions at large, (or if hee'l not take that pains, the Abridgment is made above) with our Statute Book, both which only take care, that Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. that the Religion receiv'd and own'd in the Church and by Churchmen, be protected, and every Man in his ſtation do his Duty in order to it, if the common words in the Statutes carry the uſual common ſenſe, and are to be apprehended by him, that is not a common Lawyer, and which the Author of theſe Papers does not pretend to be.

§. XIII. ONLY Mr. *Selden* inrodes us here again, and comes quite croſs too againſt us; he tells the World other things. That Excommunication in particular (and then they may as well do all the reſt) is what belongs to the Parliament, and which has actually Excommunicated, and the Biſhops are impower'd, only by Parliament to proceed in the like cenſures, and but by a Derivation from both Houſes; he ſays in plain terms, that all Power and Juriſdiction, uſually call'd Church Power and Juriſdiction, is originally and immediately from the Secular; and this he thinks he has demonſtrated from ſeveral Acts of Parliament to this purpoſe, and becauſe *Eraſtus* his Works were Licenſed for the Preſs, and Publiſhed by the Autority of the Kingdom in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, and which would not have been done, did not the ſame Autority receive, and own, and eſpouſe and ſubmit to his Doctrines, and which are wholly levell'd againſt the Church-Power, as independent, and not derived from the Magiſtrate. I'le conſider each.

§. XIV. THE Acts of Parliament he produces, are V and VI *Edw.* VI. *Cap.* IV. *That if any Perſon or Perſons ſhall ſmite or lay any violent hands upon any other, either in any Church or Church-yard,*

yard, or draw any Weapon, then ipſo facto *every Perſon ſo offending ſhall be deem'd Excommunicate, and be excluded from the Fellowſhip and Company of Chriſt's Congregation*, Sect. 2, 3. and III *James*, Cap. V. *That every Popiſh Recuſant that is or ſhall be Convict of Popiſh Recuſancy, ſhall ſtand and be reputed to all ends and purpoſes diſabled as a Perſon Excommunicated by Sentence in the Eccleſiaſtical Court.* Which two Acts being put together by Mr. *Selden*, *De Syned. lib.* 1. *c.* 10. *p.* 320. as one and the ſame, and ſuitably he backs that of King *Edward* with this of King *James*, *Simili modo ex latâ Lege*, &c. 'Tis all the reaſon in the World they ſhould interpret one another; Now King *James* ſays expreſly, That *lawful and due Excommunication is when denounced and Excommunicated according to the Laws of this Realm.* That is by a Sentence in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, and this by a *Biſhop or Presbyter* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Injunctions, by *a Judge that hath Autority thereunto*, Article 33. and which, to be ſure, in the Act it ſelf, being not done as by Law, and by the acknowledged Laws of the Land, in ſuch the Statute, the Parliament rendred uncapable of doing of it, being not the Judges appointed, Mr. *Selden* muſt in courſe be ſuppoſed ſo intolerably abſurd in his Inference, that the Secular Power Excommunicates, that common ſenſe is not able to endure him: And the true intent and meaning of the Parliament can only be this, That theſe Offenders, though they be not Excommunicated, and which the Parliament, though the Higher Court of *England*, have not Power to do, being not *Judges with Autority* Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. *rity thereunto*; yet they ſhall have the uſual Secular Puniſhments inflicted, and which are uſually laid upon ſuch as are *duly* Excommunicated, the impoſing which is the Act of Parliament alone, and which, as they may remove, ſo they may impoſe when they pleaſe, without any reſpect to the Excommunication anteceding, *They ſhall be deemed as ſuch.* So King *Edward*, *They ſhall ſtand and be reputed to all ends and purpoſes as ſuch.* So King *James.* The particular Puniſhment inſtanced in by King *Edward*, is *Excluſion from the Fellowſhip and Company of Chriſt's Congregation*; which indeed comes ſomewhat nearer to what always and immediately follows Excommunication it ſelf, in the firſt Inſtitution and Primitive Practice, *Ut à Communione Orationis & conventus, & omnis Sancti commercii relegetur, Tertul. Apol. Cap.* 39. where ſo much Power over Mens Perſons is obtained as to be able to exclude them their Oratories; and the Chriſtians uſually abſented themſelves, and 'tis agreeable with the Practice and Injunction Apoſtolical, with ſuch an one not to *accompany*, 1 Cor. 5. 11. but yet this is not of the firſt Nature and Eſſence of it; becauſe this may be where the Excommunication is not; 'tis ſuppoſeable to ariſe from a different Autority and Motive; and ſo, the Secular Arm, if agreeable to its ſelf, its own Power and Proceedings, and in relation to which it is to be interpreted, muſt be concluded to appoint and execute in this Statute, and no otherwiſe. As every Science, ſo every Power, is to be conceived of, as on its own object, and proper work; and thoſe Apo-

Apoſtatizing diſſenting Chriſtians of old, who laid this Puniſhment upon themſelves, and out of peeviſhneſs, or whatever undue ground, turn'd themſelves out of Communion with the Church, in her Prayers and Euchariſt, the Church proceeded notwithſtanding to Excommunicate them; her own cenſure, as a Church-Act did judicially proceed againſt them, See *Can.* 2. *Conc. Antioch.* & *fuſius ſupra*; *Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 31. and ſince our Parliaments have ſo frequently declared the Practice and Inferences of the firſt Doctors and Holy Biſhops from the Old and New Teſtament, to be their rule in all their religious Proceedings they have ſo often hither limited and confined themſelves, every one of ſuch their Proceedings muſt in courſe be interpreted, in Subordination to and complyance with them; they are not to be concluded, where Words and Actions, and things will bear any favourable Conſtruction, to run croſs to, and Head againſt them; or if they do, and no Friendly office can be done them, and a better gloſs is not to be put upon it; 'tis to be reputed as that particular Error, from which they plead not an Exemption, and the general Deſign will weigh down, if coming in Competition. But the Statute of King *James* inſtances in and confines to a Puniſhment, that is not pleadable to be otherwiſe than Secular and Worldly, nor can be interpreted of any immediate Spiritual conſequence upon whom 'tis inflicted. The Puniſhment is, to be *diſabled as to Suits at Law*, and which every Body knows, the alone Laws of the Land and Power of Parliament can impoſe, and which may be, Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. and is impoſed upon ſundry other occaſions, and not that of Excommunication only, and ſo ſuppoſed in the Act.

§. XV. WHAT he brings out of *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth* in their Acts, for authorizing and making Law the Common-Prayer-Book, *ibid.* p. 386. as ranked by themſelves, ſo are they of different Complexions, nor does the Prince there attempt any thing but what as *Supreme Governor in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, he is enabled to do*, as Mr. *Selden* there very well refers to ſuch his Title for his Evidence; that is, to ſee that every one does his Duty in his Order and Station, enabling and protecting him thereunto; the Prince is thereby to be interpreted no more enabled by his own Power, whether in his own Perſon, or the Perſon of any other to diſcharge the Office of a Prieſt, than he is ſuppoſed to have the Skill and Capacity of any Artiſt, Mechanick, or what other Tradeſman, whom he Empowers by his Letters Patents, or any otherways, in Law acquits or indemnifies, in the managery and publick Profeſſion of ſuch his Art and Invention, his Trade and Employment, and no otherwiſe can the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers be ſaid there to be *impower'd* to proceed by cenſures againſt all ſuch as will not come to Church, II. III. *Edw.* VI. *Cap.* I. *Sect.* XII. I *Elizabethæ*, *Cap.* II. *Sect* XVI. nor do any of thoſe many many inſtances, which his uſual intolerable Pains has heaped together in ſeveral Pages both before and after in that Chapter, about the Prince, or Secular Powers, interpoſing, limiting and reſtraining in Excom-

Excommunications, prove any thing at all to his purpoſe, but on the contrary, are all againſt him; himſelf has given ſo good an account of it, that nothing needs here to be added, but the recital of his own words, whatever Power there is executed in the Church *Semper à jure Anglicano civili temperatum eſt & reſtrictum, ut inde planè modos ſuos & limites perpetuò receperit*, pag. 387. receiv'd modes, and rules, and limits by the Laws of the Land, Prohibitions and Injunctions in order to a ſearch and enquiry, whether not deſtructive to the Prince, to the Juſtice of the Subject, and into the merit and demerit of the Cauſe, or Perſon, all follow as naturally as any thing in the World, that in a Chriſtian Kingdom, where the Church is protected, the Power of her Officers aſſerted and maintained, its Acts and Executions aſſiſted and abetted, licenſed and indulg'd in every thing that may be advantageous to the promoting this Power, rendring it conſiderable and effectual, as in the firſt deſign, inſtitution and purpoſe of it, that the Prince do not wholly denudate and diveſt himſelf by his Grants and Conceſſions, that the Church receive Rules back again, and not act independently, but with a regard to that arm which thus upholds her, and 'tis to be the care of a Prince, that as not himſelf, ſo nor his Subjects be burdned and oppreſſed with the vexatious proceedings of the Courts Eccleſiaſtical by Excommunications, or otherways. But then as to the force of Mr. *Selden*'s Argument on this Conceſſion, I'le only here uſe the words of Mr. *Thorndike* in his Treatiſe of the Laws Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. of the Church, *Cap. ult. pag.* 394. 'But will 'all this ſerve for an Argument that there is 'no ſuch thing as a Church in the Opinion of 'Chriſtendom, but that which ſtands by the 'acts of Chriſtian Powers, becauſe they pre- 'tend to limit the abuſe of it? when as the 'very name of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in 'the Title of thoſe Books, and thoſe Actions 'is ſufficient Demonſtration that they ac- 'knowledge and ſuppoſe a right to Juriſdi- 'ction in the Church, which they pretend to 'limit, as the neither Church nor the reſt 'of their Subjects to have cauſe to complain 'of wrong by the abuſe of it. And ſince Mr. *Selden* has here *Pag.* 387. inſtanced in the firſt Chriſtian Emperors, wee'l accept of their both rules and limits, *Laxations* and *Temperatures*, as he calls it, and who as they never attempted to Excommunicate in their own Power and Perſons, ſo neither did they obſtruct or declare againſt in their Laws, the Divine immutable Right and Precept of its Inſtitution, as is plainly made appear in my Treatiſe above about it, and all that which Mr. *Selden* has brought to the contrary is only ſome ſhew of words and expreſſions which he has wreſted to his purpoſes, as he does here in our Statute-Book; and that which he brings of the *Rump Parliament*, Pag. 387. and that *Excommunicationi Presbyterali retinacula & repagula quæ egredi ritè ea nequiret, diverſimodè prudenter aſſignabant*, &c. they gave Laws and Rules to the Presbyterian Excommunications, in their Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, and which, though not without ſome Arguments to the contrary, were ſubmitted unto,

unto, and alſo of *Geneva* it ſelf, whoſe Church-Power was thus limited in its Proceedings by State-Rules, and for the better Security of the Power; all this proves nothing leſs than what he deſigns and produces them for; for theſe are the very Men and particular Incorporations, as to Faith and Diſcipline, he inſtances in *Pag.* 325, 326. who aſſert and defend Excommunication, as ſubjected in themſelves, and inſtituted by the preceptive Command, and poſitive Appointment of either Chriſt and his Apoſtles, or of both; and the Inference thence can be only this, That a Subordination to the Chriſtian State, and ſubmiſſion to the Rules of Policy in the Execution, for order and conveniency, and the more effectually compaſſing the end of the Ordinance, is not inconſiſtent, as ſuch, with the Goſpel-Inſtitution, it no ways invects the thing it ſelf, or Original Power in the State; and that which the *Aſſembly-men* demurr'd upon, when the Parliament laid their Reſtrictions in all Probability, was, not that it enterfeired with the Divine Right, or encroach'd upon it; but as inconſiſtent with that Omnipotent Power, and Self-exiſtent, their aim was to erect in their Presbytery, or Conſiſtoritorian Seigniority, made up of Lay, and Church Elders, as accountable to none, but themſelves, or the Claſſis or Synod, for the Proceedings of ſuch their Parlour, whether King or Parliament demanded it, all being there but Subjects, that were not by Election, of that preciſe Order and Fraternity, and as unlucky an inſtance he has brought above, *Pag.* 320. out of the Parlia- Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. ment of *Scotland*, III *Jacob.* VI. *Cap.* XLV. that the Parliament did there Excommunicate alſo, a thing ſo abhorring to the Kirk, and every ways diſagreeing to the both humour of thoſe People, and its then preſent Conſtitution, as reformed by *Buchanan* and *Knox*, in the height of Calviniſm, that no one that valued the Reputation of his Book among but eaſie conſidering Men, would have inſerted ſuch a Quotation; and yet it ſerves as well as five hundred more do, with which his Margin is all along ſtuffed.

§. XVI. THE next Reaſon given why there is no ſuch thing as Church-Power, diſtinct and apart, but is derived from the Crown, is becauſe that *Eraſtus* his Works were Licenſed by Autority and Printed, in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, by *John Wolfe*, the Queens Bookſeller, and it ſtands ſo Entred in the Bookſellers-Hall at *London* to this day, *De Synod. l.* 1. *c.* 10. *Pag.* 486. to which I anſwer, that every Book Printed by *Richard Royſton* His Majeſtie's now Bookſeller, and Licenſed by Autority, is not therefore to be neceſſarily the ſenſe of the Autority of the Kingdom, and the ſame Latitude was in Licenſing Books in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, as has been ſince, and the ſame liberty taken. Nor is it cleer that the Book was really Licenſed by Autority from what Mr. *Selden* ſays, for the Entrance into the Bookſellers-Hall only is, that it was reported by Mr. *Forteſcue* to be allow'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; 'tis not ſaid that the Archbiſhop's hand, or the hand of any other in Autority was ſet to the Licenſe, and Books are not uſually

ally Entred for the Preſs upon a Report that they are Licenſed, but when a Licence is really not to be had, and the Bookſeller contrives as good a Plea as he can, for his falſe Entry and ſurreptitious Impreſſion; what is added, that the Archbiſhop had the Book in his Study fairly Bound, and with a Golden Motto on the outſide of it, will not do, becauſe Heretical, it was not fit for many other Studies than his, and which is the only thing elſe urged by Mr. *Selden* that he Licenſed it; yet admit it was Licenſed duly, whether by thoſe *viri ſummi* of the Eccleſiaſtical Order and great Stateſmen, who got the Copy of *Eraſtus* his Widow, or of *Caſtelvetrus* her ſecond Husband, as Mr. *Selden* ſuggeſts, or by the Archbiſhop himſelf; what is neceſſarily hence to be inferr'd, I'le here again give in the words of our always to be reverenced Mr. *Herbert Thorndike*, of the Laws of the Church, *Cap. Ult. Pag.* 394. 'Neither is the 'Publiſhing *Eraſtus* his Book againſt Excom-'munication at *London* to be drawn into the 'like Conſequence, that thoſe who allow'd 'and procur'd it, allow'd the ſubſtance of 'what he maintain'd, ſo long as a ſufficient 'Reaſon is to be rendred for it otherwiſe: 'for at ſuch time as the Presbyterian Pretences 'were ſo hot under Queen *Elizabeth*, it is no 'marvel if it was thought to ſhew *England* 'how they prevail'd at home; firſt, becauſe 'he hath advanced ſuch Arguments as are re-'ally effectual againſt them, which are not 'yet, nor never will be, anſwered by them, 'though void of the Poſitive Truth, which 'ought to take place inſtead of their Miſtakes, 'and Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. 'and beſides, becauſe at ſuch times as Popes 'did what them liſted in *England*, it would 'have been to the purpoſe to ſhew the *Engliſh* 'how *Machiavel* obſerves they were hamper'd 'at home, and for the like Reaſon when the '*Geneva* Platform was cried up with ſuch 'Zeal here, it was not amiſs to ſhew the 'World how it was eſteem'd under their 'own Noſes in the Cantons and the Pala-'tinate.

§. XVII. I am now to ſhew the concurrency of our Doctors in the Church, and who ſtill go along with me and ſay the ſame thing, that Church Power, as ſuch, is not from the Civil Magiſtrate, and his *ſupremacy in all Cauſes* and over all Perſons infers it not, an induction would be too numerous, the Particulars being ſo many. I'le only inſtance in two, the one is *Thomas Bilſon* then Warden of *Wincheſter* and afterward Biſhop there, in his Book entituled, *The true difference between Chriſtian Subjection, and un-chriſtian Rebellion*, peruſed and allowed by publick Autority and dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, and for writing of which he had his Biſhoprick; the other is *Robert Sanderſon*, then the King's Profeſſor at *Oxford*, and after Biſhop of *Lincolne*, in his Book called, *Epiſcopacie* (as eſtabled by Law in *England*) *not prejudicial to the Regal Power*, written in the time of the long Parliament by the ſpecial Command of King *Charles* the I. but not publiſhed by reaſon of the Iniquity and Confuſion of the Times, and ſince printed and dedicated to our preſent gracious Soveraign King *Charles* II. two Divines, as they flouriſhed in our Church

Church at a great diſtance of time from one another; ſo are they at as great diſtance for their Worth and Merit, beyond the generality of the Divines of their times, and by which, as we have the advantage of their greater Autority as to themſelves, to which add, That they acted herein as publick Perſons, by Autority appointed to write in the Name of the Church of *England*, and in ſuch Caſes Men generally are more careful how they vent their own private Niceties and Conceptions, ſo alſo have we a farther benefit hereby, that this was and is the continued conſtant Doctrine of our Church and Church-Men, from Queen *Elizabeth* to King *Charles* II. Chap. 6.

§. XVIII. Biſhop *Bilſon* thus ſpeaks, *part.* 2*d. pag.* 124. printed at *Oxford.* 'It is one thing 'who may command for truth, and another 'who ſhall direct unto truth. We ſay Prin-'ces may command for Truth, and puniſh 'the refuſers: this no Biſhop may challenge, 'but only the Prince that beareth the Sword, 'no Prelate has Autority from Chriſt to 'compel private Men, much leſs Princes, 'but only to teach and inſtruct them, theſe 'two Points we ſtand on, *pag.* 125. 126. he 'tells the Jeſuite, the Prince is Supreme to 'eſtabliſh thoſe things Chriſt has command-'ed; and ſo he all along ſhews it the deſign of the Oath of Supremacy, againſt the pretended outward Jurisdiction of the Pope, claiming, as Chriſt's Vicar on Earth, a coercive Power in order to ſpiritual things, over the Perſons of all Chriſtians whatſoever, whoſe Subjects ſoever, and in whatſoever Cauſes,

Chap. 6. Causes, even our Kings themselves. And 'that it is no more thence to be inferr'd, that 'Princes, because supreme Governors over 'all Persons in all Causes, are therefore su'preme Judges of Faith, Deciders of Con'troversies, Interpreters of Scripture, Ap'pointers of Sacraments, Devisers of Cere'monies, and what not? then if it should 'be inferr'd, Princes are supreme Gover'nors in all Corporal things and causes, *ergo*, 'they are supreme Guiders of Grammar, 'Moderators of Logique, Directors of Rheto'rick, Appointers of Musick, Prescribers of 'Medicines, Resolvers of all Doubts, and 'Judges of all Matters incident any wayes to 'reason, art or action. We confess them to 'be supreme Governors of their Realms and 'Dominions, and that in all Spiritual things 'and causes, not of all Spiritual things and 'causes, we make them not Governors of the 'Things themselves, but of their Subjects: 'we confess that her Highness is the only 'Governor of this Realm, the Word Go'vernor doth sever the Magistrate from the 'Minister, and sheweth a manifest difference 'between their Office, for Bishops be no 'Governors of Countries, Princes be; these 'bear the Sword to reward and punish, those 'do not, *pag.* 127. They have several Com'missions which God signed, those to dis'pense the Word and Sacraments, these to 'prescribe by their Laws, and punish by the 'Sword, such as resist them, within their 'Dominions, *pag.* 128. That no Clergy'Man, by God's Law, can challenge an ex'emption from earthly Powers, *pag.* 129.

'Princes

'Princes have full Power to forbid, prevent Chap. 6.
'and puniſh in all their Subjects, be they Lay-
'Men, Clerks or Biſhops, not only Murders,
'Thefts, Adulteries, Perjuries and ſuch like
'Breaches, of the ſecond table; but alſo
'Schiſms, Hereſies, Idolatries, and all other
'Offences againſt the firſt Table, pertaining
'only to the Service of God and Matters of
'Religion, *pag.* 130. as the Kings of *Iſrael*
'did, who are the Chriſtian Princes exam-
'ple, *pag.* 132. and it is the duty of Chriſti-
'an Kings to compel from Hereſies and
'Schiſms to the confeſſion of the truth, con-
'ſent of Prayer and Communion of the
'Lord's Table, to compel Hereticks and
'Schiſmaticks, to repreſs Schiſm and Here-
'ſie with their princely Power, which they
'receive from above, chiefly to maintain
'God's glory, by the cauſing the Bands of
'Virtue to be preſerved in the Church, and
'the Rules of Faith obſerved, *pag.* 133. this
'is the Prince's charge, to ſee the Law of
'God fully executed, his Son rightly ſerved,
'his Spouſe ſafely nurſed, his Houſe timely
'filled, his Enemies duely puniſhed; and he
'tells the Jeſuite, if he grants this, he will
'ask no more. And theſe the cauſes and
'things that be Spiritual as well as Tempo-
'ral, the Princes power and charge doth
'reach unto, or in the words of St. *Auſtin*,
'that Princes may command that which is
'good, and prohibit that which is evil with-
'in their Kingdoms, not in Civil Affairs on-
'ly, but in Matters that concern divine Re-
'ligion. *Cont. Creſcon. l.* 3. *c.* 51. *pag.* 134.
to page 145. and this, or power of the like
nature,

Chap. 6. nature, was what was claimed and used in causes Ecclesiastical, which he proves thoughout the Church Historians, Fathers and Imperial Laws, thus declaring, assenting to and practising, *pag.* 146. 'If by the Church 'you mean the Precepts and Promises, Gifts 'and Graces of God preached in the Church, 'and poured on the Church, Princes must 'humbly obey them, and reverently receive 'them, as well as other private Men: so 'that Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, and 'all other builders of Christ's Church, as 'touching their Persons be subject to the 'Princes power: Mary, the word of God in 'their Mouths, and Seals of grace in their 'hands; because they are of God and not 'of themselves, they be far above the Prin-'ces Calling and Regiment, and in those 'Cases, Kings and Queens, if they will be 'saved, must submit themselves to God's e-'verlasting truth and testament, as well as 'the meanest of their People; and yet they 'are for all this Supreme, and subject only 'to God, as to outward Process, either from 'the Pope, or from any other Power. And so *pag.* 147. he brings in those Passages of *Tertullian*, *Optatus* and *Chrysostom*, *à Deo secundum, solo Deo minorem, parem super terram non habet*, &c. 'the word Supreme was added 'to the Oath; for that the Bishop of *Rome* 'taketh upon him to command and depose 'Princes, as their lawful supreme Judg; to 'exclude this wicked presumption, we teach, 'that Princes be supreme Rulers, we mean 'subject to no superior Judg, to give a rea-'son of their doings, but only to God. *pag.* 164,

164, 165, 166. it muſt be confeſſed he ſpeaks not home, as might be required: when explaining how Kings, as well as other Chriſtians, are comprized under the duty of obeying their Rulers, and to be ſubject unto them, *&c.* ſurely there is a true real obedience due even from Princes to Church-Officers, and their Power devolved from Chriſt, and this learned Man ſeems here, and in other places, not to be reſcued from that common prejudice and poſſeſſion ſeized upon too many, and all along continued, upon caſting of the Popes Superiority here in *England*: that there can be no Church-Power at all, univerſally obliging and requiring obedience: but what implyes and infers corporal bodily ſubjection, a change in Seculars: 'tis this puts him upon that great miſtake, that the Paſtors of the Church, are not influenced by the Kingly power of Chriſt; and what is regal in him, is given to the Civil Magiſtrate, and who only ſucceed him in that Office, (perpetual Government of the Church *cap.* 10.) and Arch-biſhop *Bancroft* confounding theſe two Powers, gives *Beza* and *Cartwright* as much advantage in that Particular, as their Diſciples and Followers can now really wiſh; and becauſe they ſay, that *Chriſt as a King preſcribed the form of Eccleſiaſtical Government* being *a King, the head of the Church, doth adminiſter his Kingdom* per legitime vocatos paſtores, *by Paſtors lawfully called*; he runs them upon this abſurdity, that their *Autority* muſt be without any *controul*. *The Paſtors muſt be all of them Emperors, the Doctors Kings, the Elders Dukes, and the Deacons Lords of the Treaſury,* Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. *ſury*, &c.] ſurvey of the holy pretended diſcipline, *&c. cap.* 24.] and yet after all 'tis moſtly Names and Titles that occaſions this or the accidental preſſing an argument, as there will be occaſion to conſider anon; and Biſhop *Bilſon* goes on, and acknowledges all in effect, only Biſhops and Paſtors are left out, and tells us, 'That the Church may be Superior, 'and yet the Pope ſubject to Princes, Princes 'be Supreme and the Church their Superior, 'the Scriptures be ſuperior to Princes, and 'yet Princes ſupreme, the Sacrament be like-'wiſe above them, and yet that hindreth not 'their Supremacy; Truth, Grace, Faith Pray-'er and other Ghoſtly Virtues, be higher 'than all earthly States, and all this notwith-'ſtanding, Princes may be ſupreme Govern-'ors of their Countries, and which, though in 'over abating Terms, and with too ſcrupu-lous a fear, where no fear ought to be, de-clares as fully as can be, the thing it ſelf, *viz.* That Princes are to be ſubject to the Govern-ment in the Church ſettled by Chriſt in its Biſhops and Paſtors, and which both as a Pro-phet, a Prieſt and a King, he derives unto them. Church-Officers have a Power unde-rived, and independent to the Crown, only 'tis ill worded by the *Warden*, *Things*, *Powers*, *Gifts*, *Virtues*, &c. as ſtanding and ſettled on Earth, and not inveſted in Perſons, can real-ly be of no force and command at all, or ra-ther, and which at laſt will amount to the ſame, will be what every one ſhall pleaſe to make them; and the Prince will have as ma-ny *Supremes*, as are pretenders to theſe Gifts of the Spirit, and which will be enough, as

experience

experience taught us: this only then can be meant by theſe Circumlocutions, and why it might not have been ſpoken in down-right terms, I cannot imagine; that the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church, with the Bible put into their hands, as it is at their Ordination, with full autority given for the Offices miniſterial, have a real Power and are truly Rulers in the Church, have a Supremacy and Superiority peculiarly theirs, and all that will come to Heaven, muſt come under this Miniſtry or Government, it's jurisdiction and diſcipline; be they Princes or Subjects on Earth, or what ever worldly Government they are poſſeſſed of, unleſs he'l ſay, every Man hath theſe *Ghoſtly Virtues*, which can urge a Text of Scripture, and which cannot be conceived of him; and to this purpoſe he goes farther, *pag.* 167, 168. 'Though the Mem-'bers of the Church be ſubject and obedi-'ent to Princes; yet the things contained in 'the Church; and beſtowed on the Church 'by God himſelf, I mean the light of his 'Word, the working of his Sacraments, the 'gifts of his Grace, and fruits of his Spirit, 'be far ſuperior to all Princes; The plain meaning of which, can be but this. Certain ſeparate Perſons inveſted by God, beyond Chriſtians at large, with ſuch Gifts and Graces, the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church; and in which reſpect a good Emperor is within the Church and not above it, as St. *Ambroſe* is to this purpoſe here quoted by him, *pag.* 171. 'You muſt diſtinguiſh 'the things propoſed in the Church, from 'the Perſons that were Members of the

Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. 'Church; the Persons both Lay-Men and 'Clerks by God's Law were the Princes Sub-'jects, the things comprized in the Church, 'and by God himself committed to the 'Church; because they were Gods, could 'be subject to the Power and Will of no 'mortal Creature, Pope nor Prince; the 'Prince is above the Persons of the Church, 'not above things in the Church, *pag.* 173. '176. 178. you know we do not make the 'Prince Judg of Faith; we confess Princes 'to be no Judges of Faith, but we do not 'encourage Princes themselves to be Judges 'of Faith: but only we wish them to di-'scern betwixt truth and error, which eve-'ry private Man must do, that is a Christi-'an, *pag.* 174, 175, 176. he approves of '*Ambrose*'s Answer to *Valentinian*, that is, 'was stout, but lawful, constant but Christi-'an, when he refused to give up his Church 'to the *Arians*, denied the Emperor's power 'over truth, and to determine in Doctrines: The Emperor might force him out, if he plea-sed, neither might he resist the force, his Weapons being only Prayers and Tears; but the truth must not yield up to him, and he give his consent or seem to do it, by his own departure, that the *Arian* Doctrine be there preached, this was not then thought an *Affront to the Magistrate* and *Law*, nor had St. *Ambrose* a *Commission immediate from Hea-ven and abetted with Miracles*, or was he judg-ed *a hypocrite* in so doing, because he did not go and preach the Cause against *Arius* amongst the *Goths* and *Vandals*, who sub-scribed to his Creed, at their receiving Christianity

Chriſtianity, though Mr. *Dean* of *Canterbury* tells us, he that pleads Conſcience and preaches it in *England*, and does not go and preach it alſo in *Turkey*, is *guilty of groſs hypocriſie*, pag. 203, 213. Chap. 6.

'We do not make them Judges and Deciders of Truth, but 'Receivers and Eſtabliſhers of it, we ſay, 'Princes be only Governors, that is, higher 'Powers, ordain'd of God, and bearing the 'Sword, with lawful and publick Autority 'to command for truth, to prohibit, and 'with the Sword puniſh Errors, and all o-'ther Eccleſiaſtical Diſorders, as well as 'Temporal, within their Realms; that as all 'their Subjects, Biſhops and others muſt o-'bey them, commanding what is good in 'Matters of Religion, and endure them with 'patience, when they take part with Error. 'So they, their Swords and Scepters be not 'ſubject to the Popes Tribunal, neither hath he 'by the Law of God, or by the Canons of the 'Church, any Power or Pre-eminence to re-'verſe their Doings nor depoſe their Per-'ſons: and for this Cauſe we confeſs Prin-'ces within their Territories, to be ſupreme, 'that is, not under the Popes juriſdiction, 'neither to be commanded nor diſplaced at 'his pleaſure, *pag.* 215, 216. There be two 'Parts of our Aſſertion. The firſt avouching 'that Princes may command for Truth and 'aboliſh Error. The next that Princes be 'Supreme, *i. e.* not ſubject to the Popes ju-'dicial Proceſs, to be cited, ſuſpended, de-'poſed at his beck. The Word Supreme 'ever was, and is defended by us, to make 'Princes free from the wrongful and uſurp-

Chap. 6. 'ed Jurisdiction which the Pope claimeth o-
'ver them, *pag.* 217. 219. Bishops have their
'Autority to preach and administer the Sacra-
'ments, not from the Prince, but Christ him-
'self——only the Prince giveth them pub-
'lick liberty without let or disturbance to
'do what Christ hath commanded them, he
'no more conferreth that Power and Functi-
'on than he conferreth Life and Breath,
'when he permitteth to live and breath,
'when he does not destroy the life of his
'Subjects. That Princes may prescribe what
'Faith they list, what Service of God they
'please, what form of Administring the Sa-
'craments they think best, is no part of our
'thoughts, nor point of our Doctrine, for
'external Power and Autority to compel
'and punish, which is the Point we stand
'upon, God hath preferr'd the Prince be-
'fore the Priest, *pag.* 223. touching the Re-
'giment of their own Persons and Lives,
'Princes owe the very same Reverence and
'Obedience to the Word and Sacraments,
'that every private Man doth: and if any
'Prince would be baptized, or approach the
'Lord's Table, with manifest shew of un-
'belief or irrepentance, the Minister is
'bound freely to speak, or rather to lay
'down his life at the Princes feet, than to
'let the King of Kings to be provoked, the
'Mysteries to be defiled, his own Soul and
'the Princes endanger'd, for lack of oft and
'earnest Admonition, *pag.* 226. by Governors
'we do not mean Moderators, Prescribers,
'Directors, Inventers, or Authors of these
'things, but Rulers or Magistrates, bearing
the

the Sword, to permit and defend that which Chap. 6.
'Christ himself first appointed and ordained,
'and with lawful force to disturb the Despi-
'sers of his lawful Will and Testament.
'Now what inconvenience is this, if we say
'that Princes as publick Magistrates, may
'give freedom, protection and assistance to
'the preaching of the Word, ministring of
'the Sacraments, and right using of the Keys,
'and not fetch license from *Rome*? *pag.* 236.
'Princes have no right to call and confirm
'Preachers, but to receive such as be sent of
'God, and give them liberty for their prea-
'ching, and security for their Persons, and
'if Princes refuse so to do, God's Labourers
'must go forward with that which is com-
'manded them from Heaven, not by distur-
'bing Princes from their Thrones, nor in-
'vading their Realms, but by mildly sub-
'mitting themselves to the Powers on Earth,
'and meekly suffering, for the defence of the
'truth, what they shall inflict. *A private liber-
ty and exercise of their own Conscience and
Religion* was not then thought enough, *if the
Religion of a Nation be false, and though auto-
rity do abet it*, nor would the Autority in
Queen *Elizabeth*'s days have own'd that Per-
son, asserting and maintaining of it, though
not stubbornly irreligious; but only wanting
information in so notoriously a known case of
practice, *pag.* 238. 'In all spiritual Things
'and Causes Princes only bear the Sword,
'*i. e.* have publick Autority to receive, esta-
'blish and defend all Points and Parts of
'Christian Doctrine and Discipline within
'their Realms, and without their help, tho

Chap. 6. 'the Faith and Canons of Christ's Church 'may be privately professed and observed of 'such as be willing, yet they cannot be ge-'nerally planted or settled in any Kingdom, 'nor urged by publick Laws and external 'Punishments on such as refuse, but by their 'consents that bear the Sword. This is that 'we say, refel it if you can, *pag.* 252. to de-'vise new Rites and Ceremonies for the 'Church, is not the Princes vocation, but 'to receive and allow such as the Scripture 'and Canons commend, and such as the Bi-'shops and Pastors on the Place shall advise, 'not infringing the Scripture or Canons, and 'so for all other Ecclesiastical Things and 'Causes: Princes be neither the Devisers 'nor Directors of them, but the Confirmers 'and Establishers of that which is good, 'and Displacers and Revengers of that 'which is Evil, which power we say they 'have in all things be they Spiritual, Eccle-'siastical or Temporal; the Abuse of Excom-'munication in the Priest, and contempt of 'it in the People; Princes may punish, ex-'communicate they may not, for so much of 'the Keys, are no part of their Charge, *pag.* '256. The Prince is in Ecclesiastical Disci-'pline to receive and stablish such Rules and 'Orders as the Scripture and Canons shall 'decide to be needful and healthful for the 'Church of God in their Kingdoms. It is the Objection indeed and undue consequence the Church of *Rome* makes against us, and the Oath of Supremacy, and which is urged by *Philander* in this Dialogue betwixt him and *Theophilus*, or betwixt the Chri-

stian and the Jesuite, *pag.* 124, 125. 'That Chap. 6.
'we will have our Faith and Salvation to
'hang on the Princes Will and Laws, that
'there can be imagined no nearer way to
'Religion than to believe what our temporal
'Lord and Master list, in the Oath we make
'Princes the only supreme Governors of all
'Persons in all Causes, as well spiritual as
'temporal, utterly renouncing all foreign
'Jurisdictions, Superiorities and Autorities;
'upon which Words mark what an horrible
'Confusion of all Faith and Religion ensu-
'eth; if Princes be the only Governors in
'Ecclesiastical Matters, then in vain did the
'Holy Ghost appoint Pastors and Bishops to
'govern the Church: if they be Supreme,
'then they are superior to Christ himself,
'and in effect Christ's Masters: if in all
'Things and Causes spiritual, than they may
'prescribe to the Priests and Bishops what
'to preach, which way to worship and serve
'God, how, in what Form to minister the
'Sacraments, and generally how Men shall be
'governed in Soul; if all foreign Jurisdiction
'must be renounced, then Christ and his A-
'postles, (because they were and are For-
'reigners) have no Jurisdiction nor Autori-
'ty over *England*. But this is what only the ill Nature and Malice of our Adversaries would have us to believe and assert, and give out to the World we do; 'tis what is, and all along has been repell'd with scorn and indignation both by our Princes in their single Persons, and in their Laws in Parliament: and though some of our Divines have wished the Oath had been more cauti-

Chap. 6. ously Penn'd, and think it lies more open to little obvious Inferences of this nature than it needs, and which amuse the unwary less discerning Reader, yet all own and defend it as to the substance and design and intent of it, and which is throughly and sufficiently done by the learned *Warden* in this Treatise, as appears by this Specimen or shorter account is now given of it, and he that peruses the whole Treatise will find more, and *John Tillotson* Doctor in Divinity and Dean of *Canterbury*, is, if not the only, yet one professed conforming Divine in our Church, that publickly from the both Pulpit and Press, has given the Romanist so much ground really to believe we are such, as they on purpose to abuse us and delude others, give it out we are, and complyes so far with their Objection and Calumny just now recited, as by *Philander* drawn up against us, gives so much of Force and Autority to it.

§. XIX. BISHOP *Sanderson* in his Treatise now mentioned has a different task from Bishop *Bilson*, the one was to vindicate the Prince, that he invades not the Church, the other the Bishops or Church that from usurping on the Prince. Bishop *Sanderson* among many other things urged by him, and as his Subject requires, is expres in these Particulars, *pag.* 121. 'That there is a supreme Eccle-'siastical Power, which by the Law of the 'Land is established, and by the Doctrine of 'our Church acknowledged to be inherent 'in the Church, *pag.* 23. 'That regal and 'Episcopal Power, are two Powers of quite different

'different kinds: and ſuch as conſidered pure- Chap. 6.
'ly in thoſe things which are proper and aſ-
'ſential to either, have no mutual relation
'unto or dependance upon each other, nei-
'ther hath either of them to do with the o-
'ther, the one of them being purely ſpiri-
'tual and internal, the other external and
'temporal: albeit in regard of the Perſons
'that are to exerciſe them, or ſome acciden-
'tal Circumſtances appertaining to the ex-
'erciſe thereof, it may happen the one to be
'ſome wayes helpful or prejudicial to the
'other, *pag.* 41. that the derivation of any
'Power from God, doth not neceſſarily infer
'the *non*-ſubjection of the Perſons in whom
'that Power reſideth to all other Men; for
'doubtleſs the power that Fathers have o-
'ver their Children, Husbands over their
'Wives, Maſters over their Servants is from
'Heaven, of God and not of Men, yet are
'Parents, Husbands, Maſters in the exerciſe
'of their ſeveral reſpective Powers, ſubject
'to the Power, Juriſdiction and Laws of
'their lawful Soveraigns, *pag.* 44. The King
'doth not challenge to himſelf, as belonging
'to him, by virtue of his Supremacy Eccle-
'ſiaſtical, the Power of ordaining Miniſters,
'excommunicating ſcandalous Offenders, the
'power of Preaching, adminſtring Sacra-
'ments, *&c.* and yet doth the King by vir-
'tue of that Supremacy, challenge a Power
'as belonging to him in the right of his
'Crown to make Laws, concerning Preach-
'ing adminiſtring the Sacraments, ordina-
'tion of Miniſters, and other Acts belong-
'ing to the Function of a Prieſt, *pag.* 69, 70,
71.

Chap. 6. 71. it is the peculiar reason he gives in behalf of the Bishops, for not using the King's Name in their Process, *&c.* in the Ecclesiastical Courts (the occasion of the whole discourse) and which cannot be given for the Judges of any other Courts, from the different nature and kind of their several respective Jurisdictions, which is, 'That the Summons and other Proceedings and Acts in 'the Ecclesiastical Courts, are for the most 'part in order to the Ecclesiastical Censures 'and Sentences of Excommunications, *&c.* 'the passing of which Sentences and others 'of the like kind, being a part of the Power 'of the Keys, which our Lord Jesus Christ 'thought fit to leave in the hands of the A-'postles and their Successors, and not in the 'hands of Lay-Men: The Kings of *England* 'never challenged to belong to themselves 'but left the exercise of that Power entire-'ly to the Bishops, as the lawful Successors 'of the Apostles and Inheritors of their Pow-'er, the regulating and ordering of that 'Power in sundry Circumstances concerning 'the outward exercise thereof in *foro externo*, 'the Godly Kings of *England* have thought 'to belong unto them, as in the Right of 'their Crown; and have accordingly made 'Laws concerning the same, even as they 'have done also concerning other Matters 'appertaining to Religion and the Worship 'of God; but the substance of that Power, 'and the Function thereof, as they saw it 'altogether to be improper to their Office 'and Calling; so they never pretended or 'laid any claim thereunto, but on the contrary

'trary renounced all claim, to any such Chap. 6.
'Power or Autority. And for Episcopacy it
'self, the Bishop sets down his opinion in a
'Postscript to the Reader; the words are these,
'My opinion is, That Episcopal Govern-
'ment is not to be derived merely from Apo-
'stolical Practice or Institution; but that it
'is originally founded in the Person and Of-
'fice of the Messiah, our Blessed Lord Jesus
'Christ; who being sent by his Heavenly
'Father to be *The great Apostle*, [*Heb.* 3. 1.]
'*Bishop* and *Pastor* [1 *Pet.* 2. 25.] of his
'Church, and anointed to that Office imme-
'diately after his Baptism by *John*, with
'Power and the Holy Ghost, [*Acts* 10. 37, 38.]
'descending then upon him in a bodily shape
'[*Luk.* 3. 22.] did afterwards, before his
'Ascension into Heaven, send and impower
'his holy Apostles (giving them the Holy
'Ghost likewise as his Father had given him)
'in like manner as his Father had before sent
'him, [*Joh.* 20. 21.] to exercise the same
'Apostolical, Episcopal and Pastoral office
'for the Ordering and Governing of his
'Church until his coming again, and so the
'same office to continue in them and their
'Successors unto the Worlds end [*Mat.* 28.
'18. 20.] this I take to be so clear from these
'and other like Texts of Scripture, that if
'they shall be diligently compar'd together,
'both between themselves, and with the fol-
'lowing Practice of all the Churches of Christ,
'as well in the Apostles times, as in the pu-
'rest and Primitive time nearest thereunto,
'there will be left a little cause why any man
'should doubt thereof.

AND

Chap. 6. s. XX. AND now I have done, only Mr. *Selden* is once more to be encountred with, who appears against all this, and says, that the Doctors of our Church are quite of a different Judgment, and have declared the same to the World in their Writings, *De Syned. l.* 1. *cap.* 10. *pag.* 424, 425. As the two Universities at once, Published in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. 1534. called *Opus eximium de vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiasticæ, & quæ sit ipsa veritas, & virtus utriusq;* Stephen Gardiner *Bishop* of *Winchester*, in an Oration *de vera Obedientia*, Joannes Bekinsau, *de Supremo & absoluto regis Imperio*, with abundance more which he tells us, was to have been Printed in King *James*'s days, but the Printer was in the blame. The Manuscripts in the *Cottonian* Library, where an account is given of *Henry* VIII. entrance upon the Reformation 1540. and the Question among others, is, *Utrùm Episcopus aut Presbyter possit Excommunicare, & ob quænam delicta, & utrum ii soli possint, & jure divino*, whether the Bishop or the Presbyter can Excommunicate, and for what Offences, and whether they alone can do it, by Divine Right? and about which great Divines were distracted in their Opinions, but the Bishop of *Hereford*, St. *David*, *Westminster*, Dr. *Day*, *Curwin*, *Laighton*, *Cox*, *Symons*, say that Lay-men may Excommunicate, if they be appointed by the high Ruler, or the King; and all those Writings in every Bodies hands, *De primatu regio, de potestate Papæ & Regiâ*, against *Bellarmine*, *Tortus*, *Becan. Eudemon Joannes*, *Suarez*, &c. in the time of King *James*, and whose Authors

thors were Bishop *Andrews*, Bishop *Buckeridge*, Dr. *Collings*, Bishop *Carlton*, &c. and, in which three first Mr. *Selden* instances; a great appearance of Adversaries and considerable withal, and did not Mr. *Selden* give in the Catalogue, whose unfaithfulness and impostings I have so oft experienced in this kind, would be much more terrible in reality, than they at first look appear; incouraged therefore by former success, I'le encounter him once more, and undertake an Examination of so many of them as I have by me, and it is very pardonable if I have not all; we that live remote in the Countrey, and but poor Vicars there, have not the advantage of Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Library, cannot attend Auctions, or but common Booksellers Shops, and have not Money to imploy others, especially for the obtaining such Authors as these, most of which are out of Print, and some very rarely to be had by any; and I am the more encouraged to the search, just now finding, in that Book of Bishop *Sanderson*'s, I had so lately occasion to make use of, some of these Authors made use of on the contrary side; as those, who by the occasion of the title of *Supreme Head*, our Church being charged with giving to the Prince, the Power, Autority, and Offices of the Priest openly disavow and disclaim it; and I think I may as soon rely upon Bishop *Sanderson*'s report, as Mr. *Selden*'s, his skill as Divine, and Integrity as a Christian, can be no ways below him, even in the Judgment of Mr. *Selden*'s Friends. Chap. 6.

THE *Opus eximium de verâ differentiâ*, &c. comes first; the work he says of the two Universities, §. XXXI

Chap. 6. versities, I do not know why the Universities are entitled to it, but upon Mr. *Selden*'s report, for this time, will grant it readily, because the Autority how great soever, is really on my side; nor does it answer any thing at all of Mr. *Selden*'s design in producing of it. The first Part is, *De potestate Ecclesiastica*, and is wholly levelled at the Power of the Pope, and discovers his Usurpations over the Christian both Kingdoms and Bishops; that his pretended both Spiritual and Temporal Plea has no ground either on the Scriptures, or Fathers; for it is altogether begged and sandy. I cannot so much commend the clearness of it, when discoursing of Church-Power, as in it self, and purely in the Donation, and which he allows and defends, he appearing not to have the true Notion of Church-Laws, and stumbles at that so usual block, that all Laws must be outwardly Coercive, or they cannot be call'd Laws, and so can be only in the Prince, whom he well enough proves to have alone that Power, and what he allows, the Church, is to make *Canons*, i. e. rules to be receiv'd only by those that are willing; but not Laws which enforce, with more to this purpose, something too crudely, and which the then present Age will plead something; for, *Confirmant quidem præditæ potestatem Ecclesiasticam, sed Dominum regant, tribuunt autoritatem non jurisdictionem admonere, hortari, consolari, deprecari, docere, prædicare, Sacramenta ministrare, cum charitate arguere, increpare, obsecrare, certissimis Dei promissis spem in Deo augere, gravibus Scripturarum comminationibus a vitiis deterrere, eorum sit Proprium*

prium qui Apoſtolis ſuccedunt, & quibus etiam dictum eſt, quorum remiſeritis peccata, &c. *Leges autem, pœnæ, judicia, coercciones, ſententiæ, & cætera hujuſmodi, Cæſarum, & Regum, & aliarum Poteſtatum*; but ſurely all theſe are Laws too, and have real Penalties, if our Saviour himſelf be a Law-giver, and have Autority, and do oblige the unwilling, only they break in ſunder the bonds of Duty, on whoſe Truth, theſe their Admonitions, Increpations, &c. are to be founded, by whoſe Virtue the Sacraments have their Influence, and the Power of retaining is executed, unleſs the Pains of Hell are only painted or have no force, becauſe not inflicted ſo ſoon as denounced: there is a Dominion ſure goes along with Chriſt's Kingdom too, accompanying his Ordinances, only 'tis not by the Rules, and with the Conſequents of the other Juriſdictions of the World, and on this account Men have been ſo unwary as not to diſcern it, to ſpeak againſt it, or unwilling to ſpeak plainly out concerning it, a miſtake has been obſerved in others, and 'tis here pretty aged, but 'tis moſt ſure and certain this, 'tis moſt plain and conſpicuous, the whether *Poteſtas* or *dominium*, *autoritas* or *juriſdictio*, as they diſtinguiſh, *Power* or *Dominion*, *Autority* or *Juriſdiction*, that is allow'd to be Eccleſiaſtical, is no where in the Treatiſe, attributed to Kings, to thoſe that have Secular Dominion, this is only *eorum qui Apoſtolis ſuccedunt*, theirs that ſucceed the Apoſtles. The ſecond Part is, *De poteſtate Regiâ*, where firſt the Divine Right of Kings is aſſerted, and then their Power in the Church, or over-ſpiritual things, where Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. where their *Right of Investiture* is declared from *Gen.* 47. and the Priests received their Benefices from them, as also over the Power and Persons of the Priests, to Correct and Punish them, to whom the Priests are to pay Tribute, and this all along from the Examples of the Kings of *Israel*, from our Saviour, from St. *Peter*, this contrary to the practice of the Pope, who claims these Powers and Advantages to himself, and in his own Power & Person executes them; 'tis the Princes Province assign'd him in the Scripture to Punish and Coerce, to enforce Penance and Restitution, and that evil-doers be cut off according to St. *Paul*, to prohibit and smite such as refuse to serve God according to the Priests instruction, as did *Hezekiah* to the Worshippers in the Groves and high places, destroying them, as did the King of *Nineveh* compelling the whole City to Repentance, forbidding for the future by terrible Laws, as did *Nebucadnezzar*; thus *Justinian* the Emperor gave Laws in Religion, concerning Faith and Hereticks; Churches, Bishops, and Church-men, Marriages, *&c.* and the same, and only this Power have the Kings of *England* assum'd to themselves, as he instances all along to the End of the Book; particularly in the Church Laws made by several Kings in this Island; as *Canutus*, *Etheldred*, *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Adelstan*, *Ive*, *Oswin*, *Egfrid*, *William* the Conqueror, in his Letters for the Endowment of *Battle*, with its Priviledges and Immunities, and which Mr. *Selden* makes use of to his purpose, though no ways serving it; for he only exempts the Church from Episco-

Episcopal Visitation; but neither in this or any other of their Letters, Rules, Laws and Injunctions given to the Church, is any thing of Church-Power as such, own'd, claimed, appropriated, or but pretended to, by virtue of the Crown or Regal Power given them of God; but the two Powers are supposed distinct and disparates, and so in particular, King *Edgar*, in that his severer, correptive Monitory-Oration or Letter to the Clergy of *England*, their faults appearing then very notorious, he at length thus addresses himself unto them, *Ego* Constantini, *vos* Petri, *gladium habetis in manibus, jungamus dexteras, gladium gladio copulemus, ut efficiantur extra castra leprosi, ut purgetur Sanctuarium Domini, & ministrent in Templo filii* Levi. I have the Sword of *Constantine*, you have the Sword of *Peter* in your hands, let us joyn right hands together, let us couple Sword with Sword, that the Leprous may be cast out of the Tents, and the Sanctuary of the Lord be Purged, and the Sons of *Levi* minister in the Temple. And a little farther applying himself to *Dunstan* the Archbishop, he tells him, *Contempta sunt verba, veniendum est ad verbera, arguisti, obsecrasti, atq; increpasti*, Admonitions will do no more good, he must come to blows, and thereunto directs him to joyn with himself *Edwald* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Ut Episcopali censurâ & regia Autoritate, turpiter viventes de Ecclesia efficiantur*, &c. by the Episcopal Censure and Regal Autority, the one assisting, but neither usurping upon, and destroying the other, these evil Men be cast out of the Church, Chap. 6

Chap. 6. Church, and better placed in their rooms. So unlucky is Mr. *Selden* in this first Quotation.

§. XXII. *STEPHEN* Bishop of *Winchester* in his Oration *de vera Obedientiâ* comes next, but brings nothing more of advantage to his side, and as it was Printed 1537. and but a year after the *Opus eximium*, &c. so does he as to the Substance copy after him, and asserts *Henry* VIII. *Head of the Church*, i. e. all Christians within his Dominions, as were the Kings of *Israel* over all the Jews, *i. e.* to take care of their Morals, and see that they do their Duty to God, their Neighbour, and themselves; as *Justinian* gave Laws to the Church, and the Causes of Heresies were agitated with the *Cæsars* and Princes that were Christians, and Laws made, promulgated and enjoyn'd execution, both by our Kings here in *England*, and also by others elsewhere, and particularly refers to that Oration of *Edgar*, just now mentioned; and adds farther out of it, how *Dunstan* that most holy and excellent Archbishop of *Canterbury*, submitted to this his Jurisdiction, and most willingly embraced that word of the King, *Quâ se gladium gladio copulaturum edixit, ut dissoluti Ecclesiæ mores, ad rectam vivendi normam aptarentur*; in which he engaged to joyn Sword to Sword, in order to the reducing the Church to a just and due way of living, meaning his Kingly Power to the Power of the Church, assisting the Spiritual with the Temporal Arm, for so the Bishop goes on and interprets these two Swords, and instances in Excommunication, as a branch of that which

which is in the Churches hands; *altero gladio ad illud* Pauli *alludens, quem verbi ministri docendo & excommunicando exercent; altero præeminentiam ostendens jure divino concessam, cui omnes parere, quotquot Principis ditioni subjecti Ecclesiam constituunt, omnino debent*; By one Sword alluding to that of *Paul*, which the Ministers of the Word exercise in Teaching and Excommunicating; by the other shewing that Pre-eminence granted by God, and to which all must obey, that, subjected to the Jurisdiction of a Prince, constitute a Church within his Dominions, and which two Powers, though requiring different Obedience to divers Persons and Governors, as to the Bishops and Ministers of the Word of God, and to the King, are not at all adverse to and against one another; nor is any thing more detracted from or diminished thereby of the Obedience to the King, than when a Wife obeys her Husband, and a Servant his Master, by the general Command of God; and yet this is another of Mr. *Selden*'s Autorities, which with his usual forehead he brings for the sense of the Doctors of our Church in the days of *Henry* VIII. and that the Church-Power is none at all but as derived from the Crown, and the Prince can Excommunicate. I wonder how he omitted the Oration of *Richard Samson* to this purpose, and at the same time, he being Dean of the Chappel to *Henry* VIII. and which would have made a fair shew in his Margin, which is the main thing he aims at, it certainly came not to his hands, and it would have serv'd his turn as well as any of the other, there being in him not one

Chap. 6. word concerning the Power of the Church left by Christ, and he only asserts the King Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, the Church, as made of so many Persons, implying a Body politick too, and they Subjects equally as Christians; nor could any man think that is but ordinarily considering, or designs not by Names, and Attempts, to deceive the unwary, but credulous World, and so is a Knave; that the two Universities at that time, or the eminenter of the Clergy at Court, should assert the Supremacy upon other terms, who in all Probability, were, a *secretis*, of his intimate Council, when designing for the Supremacy, and to be sure could not be ignorant of the King's Publick Declarations, and the Statute in Parliament; that in assuming of it, he did not design to infringe and invade any Power of the Church, and it least of all Vindicates Mr. *Selden*'s innocency, in urging them, with whose Reputation it is as little consistent, to say, he is ignorant of the Statute Book, being by Profession a common Lawyer.

§. XXIII. THE ancient Papers in the *Cottonian* Library, seem to be the very same with that Manuscript of Doctor *Stillingfleet*'s, at least to be upon the same occasion, and which the Doctor publish'd in part in his *Irenicum*, and since, it seems he thought it not publick enough there, communicated it to his Friend Doctor *Burnet*, and who has Printed it at large in the Third Book of his History of the Reformation of the Church of *England*, and they seem to bear date about the same time, according to the Computation given by *John Durell*,

Durell, since Dean of *Windsor* in his *Ecclesia Anglicana Vindicia*, Cap. 28. placing it in the Days of *Henry* 8th. and so has Doctor *Burnet* since, Correcting Doctor *Stillingfleet*'s Mistake, that it was in a Conference in the days of *Edward* VI. and entitling it to the Autority of the *Reformation*; and though Doctor *Stillingfleet* only mistook in the time, yet both he and *Burnet* have joyn'd together in that which is worse, and have dealt unfaithfully in the transcribing of it, if we may believe the Dean of *Windsor*'s account, who tells us, in his forementioned *Vindicia*, out of the Manuscript it self, which Dr. *Stillingfleet* gave him the opportunity to peruse, that when Archbishop *Cranmer* had affirmed, 1. *That it was not only in the Power of a Bishop to create a Presbyter, but in the Power of a Prince; yea, in the Power of the very People to create a Presbyter.* 2. *That he who under the Gospel is designed a Bishop or Presbyter, wants no Consecration; that the Election and Designation is enough in order to it; and* Leighton *a Doctor of Divinity gave his Opinion in these words*, 1. *I suppose a Bishop according to Scripture to have Power from God, as his Minister of creating a Presbyter, though he ought not to promote any to the Office of a Presbyter, or admit to any other Ecclesiastical Ministry in a Common-wealth, unless the leave of the Prince be first had; but that any other have Power according to Scripture, I have neither read, nor learned by Example.* 2. *I suppose Consecration to be necessary as by imposition of hands, for so we are taught by the Examples of the Apostles*; such says the Dean was *Cranmer*'s Candor, and so great his love Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. of Truth, he doubted not to yield to this Opinion of *Leighton's*, and this is plain in Doctor *Stillingfleet*'s Manuscript, in which is to be seen *Th. Cantuarien sis*, set with his own hand below *Leighton*'s Name, in token of his Approbation of it, and of which both the Doctors have given no account to the World, being omitted in two Impressions. Why Doctor *Stillingfleet* did leave out this passage in his *Irenicum* 'tis plain, because it thwarts his particular design, and he had lost the advantage of so considerable a Name and Autority, as *Cranmer*'s, before his most false Assertion, That *Ordination* is not *appropriated to Bishops*; and for which in that Treatise he so contends, it takes down somewhat of their *Top-gallant*. As I remember, somewhere in that Book, he expresses their solitary Power, he wondred no question with himself how at those years he could find out such a Book to present the World with, and indeed well he might, and when he had read so far as served his present turn, went no farther, otherwise he would have enquired also a little better into the time when this conference was, and not obtruded it on the World, as done by the Autority of our Reformation; though 'tis agreeable enough with the following Testimonies of the Bishops and Doctors of our Church in the same point of Episcopacy, and which, to say no worse of them, are lame and imperfect, as is here his account of the *Manuscript*. But what should move Doctor *Burnet* to omit it I cannot imagine; that it was not his purpose to leave *Cranmer* to Posterity, as either an Erastian or Independent, and of which he

he is justly to be suspected otherwise; this Chap. 6.
is plain from his own account of him, *Lib.* 3. *Pag* 289. where he tells us, 'In *Cranmer*'s 'Paper, relating to this very Conference, 'some singular Opinions of his about the Na- 'ture of Ecclesiastical Offices will be found; 'but as they are delivered by him with all 'possible Modesty; so they were not esta- 'blished as the Doctrine of the Church, but 'laid aside as particular Conceits of his own, 'and it seems that afterwards he changed his 'opinion; and having said this, why might he not have Printed out the whole Manuscript, and which is but the very same thing, only more satisfactory to the World, and the Doctor had dealt more clear and ingenuous in the Matter, nor is he quite to be acquitted from some little sinister end, and clawing therein a thing not to the advantage of an Historian; especially since he Printed out of another part of that *Manuscript* the Archbishops judgment so fully, with Eight other Bishops concerning the *Supremacy*, denying the Prince any Church-Power thereby, and which is peculiar only to those that are chosen and sent by Christ Jesus, as his Father sent him into the World, and invested him with it, and also in a *Declaration of the Function and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*, Subscribed by him, and the Archbishop of *York*, and Eleven Bishops, and Twenty Divines and Canonists; declaring that the Power of the Keys, and other Church Functions is formally distinct from the Power of the Sword, Printed in his *Addenda*, Num. 5. at the end of his History;

Chap. 6. and indeed that Archbishop *Cranmer* did so alter his Judgment, as the Dean of *Windsor* tells us he did, in Doctor *Stillingfleet*'s Manuscript; there is Evidence sufficient from the alone *Book of Ordination*, and the Preface to it; which was composed and made publick by him, and others, to be sure some of them, these very Bishops and Doctors mentioned there, and by Mr. *Selden*, in his *Cottonian* Manuscript, it being done in the first year of King *Edward*'s Reign, and where the Orders of Ministers wholly depend on the Apostles and their Institution; but when all is said and done that can be, such particular Conferences as these, if duly considered and in their Circumstances, can avail little for or against either Party, nor can *Cranmer*'s Opinion, or any other Doctors be reported with Justice, out of any such their Papers. The greatest advantage the Reformation had in the days of King *Henry* VIII. was that every one had encouragement to think, and liberty to offer, and in Conferences some must act the adverse part, and every thing must be stated, and proposed, and urged too, and though the opportunity and curiosity of some, did not do amiss in collecting and preserving such Discourses, yet I cannot but think it less Discretion in Printing and Publishing them, and least of all, to say no worse, in urging them as the sense and judgment of our Reformers, and not to be endured, when in opposition to our received and established Church Articles, Laws, Rubricks and Book of Ordination, which and which alone, upon the full enquiry and debate, each Proposal and

and Objection, and which must be many, answered and satisfaction given, is to be concluded the sense of every particular Doctor; and admit the Conference had been, as Doctor *Stillingfleet* Mistook it, appointed by King *Edward* and his Council, and by Law, in order to the Reformation, and which was began in that King's days, the Judgment of the Church of *England* was to have been reported, not from the particular bandyings *pro* and *con* amongst them, or the draught or draughts of any one or more men, and which in their Season was useful, nay necessary, but from the joynt unanimous result of the whole, and which we are sure as to that particular of Church-Power and its Subject, ended and united in the *Book of Ordination*; nor upon a general account, can those Collections, whether in the *Cottonian*, or any Library, be in any better repute among us, than any other, of all the Pamphlets, Models of Church and State Government, Attempts and Proposals, the late unhappy Revolutions in our Kingdom gave occasion to, and produced, the Condition, as to Religion, being just such in King *Henry* VIII. days, as it was then; and the Autorities an Hundred years hence, if all shaked in a bag together, will be much at one too, every man contrived, said, proposed and wrote as his own either Fancy or Interest or Curiosity, or sometimes Reason prompted and directed him, and though they may make a Pleasant History, with much of diversion, yet little of the Sense and Autority of the Nation can be collected and urged from them. Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. §. XXIV. I am now come to the last of Mr. *Selden's* Friends, and our supposed Adversaries, those general Tracts *De Primatu Regio, & de potestate Papæ & regiâ adversus Bellarminos, Tortos, Becanos, Eudemon Joannes, Suarefios*, &c. mostly in the days of King *James*, and which were wrote by *Lancelot* Bishop of *Chichester*, *John Collins*, and the Bishop of *Rochester*. The two last I have not by me, nor do I remember I ever saw, nor is it of any concern whether I have Bishop *Andrews* either, in order to the answering what is by Mr. *Selden* brought against him, any one that has but heard of that once flourishing Prelate in this Church, will easily grant him on our side, and much more must he that has read and conversed with his Works find him so; and indeed all that Mr. *Selden* brings out of him, and the other two, is really ours; so far as he reports them to have asserted, that the execution of all Ecclesiastical forensick Jurisdiction, and by consequence, that of Excommunication, receives measures, and is ruled by the King and his Laws, as Head and Moderator and Governor of the Church and Realm, and so it ought to be, whereas with us, the Prince and Realm is Christian, and the Church-censures are backed and supported by his Penal Laws in course annexed to and following them, the Prince cannot be supposed, so void of foresight, as to leave himself no Power of inspection in such Proceedings, as thus to put his Power into another Man's hands, and who is not accountable to him in the Execution. Thus the King's Autority is capable of being used against him.

himself, and it must in course so happen, to his best Subjects, 'tis that *traiterous Position* to be *abhorr'd*; and 'tis peculiarly provided that it be so, and publickly too, by the Laws of our Land, in the *Act for Uniformity of Publick Prayers*, and it is a great deal more *horrible* in Church-Affairs, as more immediately entitling our Saviour therewith, the great *abhorrer* of all, and who we are sure renounced all Pleas in *dividing* and disposing in Seculars; and did all the Power Bishops legally execute in this Kingdom, or in others that are Christian, belong to them as of Divine Right, or was it any other ways so devolved and fixed upon them, as thereby enabled, in an Arbitrary way of Proceeding, without the leave, or against the Power of the King with no respect to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, to put it in Execution, the Bishop and the King thus Independent, were also inconsistent; any thing, or person, may and must be inroded and offer'd violence to, when the Bishop will, and the greatest worldly Punishments, next under Capital, whenever, or upon what Grounds soever, he is pleased to Excommunicate, be necessarily inflicted; this is *Imperium cum Jove*, to erect an Empire within an Empire, and no Governments thus divided and distributed, can stand, and I heartily wish such as upon these Considerations most readily detest it in the Bishop, would make their Reflexions in other Persons and Cases also; But if Mr. *Selden* mean, as he must do if he continue on the design of his Book, that Church-Power and Jurisdiction, as such, and coming from Christ, naked and void of all Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. all outward Secular Additions, and implies only the forfeiture as a Christian, with no one worldly inconvenience, no forfeitures of Personal outward Liberty or Estate, that the execution and force of this depends on the Prince, and Humane Pleasure, to temperate, restrain and abolish, nor is it duly exercised other ways, this is overthrown already throughout this Discourse, and I'le only add the Autority of Mr. *Selden*'s mistaken Friend, but our real one, the great and most learned Bishop *Andrews*, who all along in those very Pages to which Mr. *Selden* in his Margin refers, asserts the quite contrary, and the Power of the Prince and the Priest are declared by him two distinct things, and not in Subordination; he tells us how God instituted in *Israel* a Kingdom and a Church, and which never *coaluerunt in unum, procul se habuit Imperium ab Ecclesiâ*, so came together by coalition, as to make one, but were still diverse and two things, had different Works and Offices; and thence concludes, *Conjungi debent Regnum & Ecclesia, confundi non debent*, they ought to be united, but not confused together, and he reckons up the several Offices and Duties of the Prince, to take care of Religion in general, to see that every Order do their Duties, to reprove, to correct and coerce in order to it, *Non licuisse tamen Davidi arcam contingere*; so *Tortus* objects upon him, and to which he answers, *Nec regi quidem vestro licet, nec ulli, aut Sacra administrare, aut attrectare quicquam, quod potestatis sit mere Sacerdotalis, ut sunt Leiturgiæ, conciones, claves, Sacramenta, arcam figunt suo loco reges, attin-*

gant

gant post illi, quos ea cura tangit, ex suscepto munere Ministerii sui. But it was not lawful for *David* to touch the Ark, neither is it lawful for our King, nor for any, either to administer holy things, or to attrectate any thing, which is meerly of the *Sacerdotal Power*, as are *Leiturgies*, *Sermons*, the *Keys* and *Sacraments*. Kings fix the Ark in its place, those afterwards touch it, whose care it is, by the receiving the Office of their Ministry; and though *Solomon*'s dedication of the Temple implyes something extraordinary, yet he denies it to reach to any thing in the Temple, which is *Sacerdotal, sed neque in iis quæ sunt pontificalis muneris regi jus facimus.* We give the King a right to do no Office which is the Priests, *semel autem habe sententiam nostram*, it is a thing so often said by our Doctors, that he is a weary, *ita coccyzare*, of the Cuckow tone, and speaking it so over and over again, *nos non regi potestatem tribuimus quam habere voluit Ozias, solam illam quam Josias habuit*, we do not give to our King the Power of *Ozias*, as *Tortus* says we do, but the Power alone of *Josias* all this, and more is; to be seen in *Tortura Torti*, from *pag.* 363 to *pag.* 370. nor is there any thing more on his side in the *responsio ad Bellarminum, cap.* 1. and to these he refers the Reader, so shameless is he in his Quotations, and he must first flatter himself into a belief that the pointing of his finger from the Margin is direction and autority enough, and supersedes all farther Inquiry. Nor is he less disingenuous in his dealings with the Bishop, when he there says that Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. that he corrected *Grotius de Jum. Poteſt. in Sacr.* &c. for the Preſs, when *Andrews* over-rul'd him that he printed it not, and it was at laſt but a poſthumous Work. So that unleſs Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift* be an *Eraſtian*, becauſe Mr. *Selden* once in his Library at *Lambeth*, ſaw *Eraſtus*'s Works neatly bound up in yellow Leather, with this Motto in Gold upon the out-ſide of it, *Intus quam extra formoſior*, as he tells us, and 'tis his chief Argument *de Syned. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. *pag.* 437. he is like to go without a Doctor in the Church of *England* on his ſide, for ought I know, or as he knew either, for he ſeldom miſſes a Name that bears but the likelyhood of an Autority; *hav' y' any Work for a Cooper*, I remember makes it the ſerious part of that ſcandalous Libel to upbraid our Church and Church-men, that the Prince makes them Biſhops and Presbyters, and their Religion is what the worldly Power pleaſes, with a deal of ſtuff to that purpoſe. I know not now where that Pamphlet is, and 'tis not worth ſearching after, though the Author might be a Doctor for ought I know. I am only ſure he was not a Doctor of our Church. Or unleſs the Lord *Falkland* turned Doctor, as he might deſerve it, by the larger Character Mr. *Dean* of *Canterbury* gives of him, joyn'd with Mr. *Chillingworth*, as I remember in the Preface to his firſt Book of Sermons, and then Mr. *Selden* is ſecure of one of his ſide, and we of an adverſary from within our ſelves: though he impleads us in a different way, owns it for our Judgment, and ſtates it very well, abating

ſome

some malicious Terms, and ranks it among Chap. 6.
those abundance more Grievances of the Nation, (and the placing this together with those other, is as great an honor he could have done us) *that we have evidently labour'd to bring in an English, though not a* Roman, *Popery, equally absolute, a blind obedience of the People upon the Clergy, and the Clergy upon themselves*, and inveighs against them altogether, according to the then zealous and modish way, in that very ill Speech of his to the House of Commons, 1641. I'le repeat part of it, as I find it transcribed and printed by a very good friend of his, and one that seems to honor him, as much as Doctor *Tillotson* does.

'Mr. Speaker, he is a great stranger in *Israel*, who knows not that this Kingdom 'hath long laboured under many and great 'Oppressions, both in Religion and Liberty, and his Acquaintance here is not great 'or his Ingenuity less, who doth not know 'and acknowledg, that a great, if not a principal Cause of both these, hath been some 'Bishops and their Adherents.

"Mr. Speaker, a little will serve to find 'them to have been the destruction of Unity, under pretence of Uniformity, to have 'brought in Superstition and Scandal, under 'the Titles of Reverence and Decency, to 'have defiled our Churches, to have slackned 'the strictness of that Union which was formerly betwixt us and those of our Religion beyond the Sea, an Action as unpolitick 'as ungodly.

'As

Chap. 6. 'As Sir *Thomas Moor* says of the *Casuists*, their business was not to keep Men 'from sinning, but to inform them, *quàm prope ad peccatum sine peccato liceat accedere.* 'So it seemed their Work (meaning the 'Prelates) was to try how much of a Papist 'might be brought in without Popery, and 'to destroy as much as they could of the 'Gospel, without bringing themselves into 'danger of being destroy'd by Law.

'Mr. Speaker, to go yet farther, some of 'them have so industriously labour'd to de'duce themselves from *Rome*, that they have 'given great suspicion, that in gratitude 'they desire to return thither, or at last to 'meet it half way. Some have evidently la'bour'd to bring in an English, though not 'a *Roman* Popery, I mean not the out-side 'of it only and dress of it, but equally ab'solute: a blind Obedience of the People 'upon the Clergy, and the Clergy upon 'themselves, and have opposed Papacy be'yond the Sea, that they might settle one 'beyond the Water; nay common fame is 'more than ordinarily false, if none of them 'have found a way to reconcile the Opini'ons of *Rome* to the Preferments of *England*, 'be so absolutely, directly and cordial Pa'pists, that it is all 1500 *l per Annum*, can do 'to keep them from confessing it.

'We shall find them to have both kindled 'and blown the common fire of both Nati'ons, to have both sent and maintained that 'Book of which the Author hath no doubt 'long since wished with *Nero*, *Utinam nescirem literas*; and of which more than one

Kingdom

'Kingdom hath cause to wish, that when he 'writ that he had rather burn'd a Library, 'though of the value of *Ptolemy*'s. We shall 'find them to have been the first and prin- 'cipal Author of the Breach, I will not say 'of, but since the Pacification at *Barwick*, 'we shall find them to have been almost sole 'Abetters of my Lord *Strafford*: whilst he 'was practising upon another Kingdom, that 'manner of Government he intended 'to settle in this, where he committed so 'many, so mighty and so manifest Enormi- 'ties, as the like have not been committed 'by any Governor in any Government since '*Verres* left *Sicily*, and after they had call'd 'him over from being Deputy of *Ireland*, to 'be in a manner Deputy of *England* (all 'things here being govern'd by a *Juntillo*, and 'that *Juntillo* governed by him) to have as- 'sisted him in giving such Counsels, and the 'pursuing such Courses, as it is an hard and 'measuring Cast, whether they were more 'unwise, more unjust or more unfortunate, 'and which had infallibly been our destru- 'ction, if by the Grace of God, their share 'had not been as small in the subtilty of 'Serpents, as in the innocency of Doves. Chap. 6

A pretty knick-knack of Speech-making every body must own it to be, but as to the occasion and matter of it, each line as evidently deserves a lash, and is as lyable to it; there appears only passion and prejudice, rancor and malice in the height, and truly scarce sense under some of the pretty cadencies and chiming Words; but not one dram of that incomparable reason Mr. *Dean* magnifies

Chap. 6. him for, and once ſaw in him, but for him to own it here, will not be, at leaſt, convenient, could he find it out, as perhaps he may, though another cannot. All I ſhall ſay at preſent, is, and 'tis as moſtly relating to this preſent diſcourſe, how wonderfully the ſame Fate has ſtill attended the Crown of *England* and the Church of *England*, the King and the Biſhops of it, and the Power, the Inſtitution and Autority of both as from Heaven and not of Man is ſtill, if either of them, decried and run again at once and by the ſame Perſon; and ten to one it had not come into my mind, had not a Man of his own complexion in Loyalty (in the late life of *Julian*) told it the world, much to the honor of this great and loyal Lord, as he thinks, that the Doctrine of Dr. *Manwaring*'s and Dr. *Sibthorp*'s Sermons long before the War broke out, was as ridiculous to him, as it appears from this his Speech in 1641. was then the Autority and Actions of the Biſhops, and the *divine Right* of Kings as well as the *divine Right* of the Church, independent to the People, are both but *Pulpit Law*; that is in his admired moſt ingenious Expreſſion, and which alone then confuted, and ſtill confutes Doctor *Manwaring*, the prate and tattle of idle Church-men from the Pulpit, and the both King and Church fell at once and together, and which himſelf particularly experienced at *Newbery*, when 'twas too late to help; what himſelf, by Speech-making and Scoffings had promoted, and *Abner*'s Epitaph, ſeems in this reſpect exactly fitted for him, nor know I in what

what other terms his death could be lamented better: had the *Pulpit laws* been more frequently made, more encouraged and executed, in teaching the Peoples dependency upon Kings and duties to them, that unnatural Rebellion had never followed; had not thoſe worſt of Principles publiſht in *Scotland* by *Buchanan de jure regni apud Scotos*, and *Knox* in his Appel. and Church-hiſtory, placing both Church and Crown in Subordination to the People, come hither into *England*, and by their Country man the Lord *Falkland*, in the Houſe of Commons, incouraged, and thoſe now a-days mend the Matter bravely, that reſcue us from the People, and put us under the Prince. Herein enlarge his Prerogative beyond his Progenitors, that he is uppermoſt in Religion, are zealous for him to be a Prieſt, but leave him as King in the hands he was before, and below the People; and thus in ſight ſtrike at both Monarchy and Religion at a blow, as is the Prieſt ſo is the King, to take their Meaſures and Protection from others: a *falſe Religion* is to be obeyed if the Religion of a Nation, leſt *affronting Magiſtracy and Law*, and every one may *Petition* and libel the Government that pleaſes, the Bible is put into the King's hand, and the Scepter taken out; the King may excommunicate, but he may not govern his People, and both Prince and Prieſt are in a pretty Condition; and the notorious contempt Church Power and Offices lye under at this day amongſt us, is an evident Teſtimony of the mock-Addition they deſign and contend for to his Crown; in that the Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. Power Sacerdotal is with so much noise and bustle seated in him, 'tis only to ridicule both at once, and with the same Argument render them contemptible, nor can any in the course of things, as well as in common Experience, be found to give to *Cæsar* the things which are *Cæsar*'s, but he that gives to Christ the things that are Christ's; *No Bishop No King*, is and will be a Maxime still, a first truth, and not to be gain-sayed.

§. XXV. IT is to be confessed there are Passages in the Writings of some of the Principal of our Doctors in the days of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, as Arch-Bishop *Whitgift*, Arch-Bishop *Bancroft*, Bishop *Bilson*, &c. that lean too much to the *Erastian* Way, or rather by an incuriousness of Expression, do not give that account of Church Power, nor state it so clearly, as may be expected, and 'tis not impossible, where a design, to render them as of the Party. Something of this nature has been observ'd already, in Bishop *Bilson* and Arch-Bishop *Bancroft*, and he that reads over the first Book *de Politeia Ecclesiastica*, cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *&c.* wrote by *Robert Parker*, and printed at *Frankfort*, 1616. and only reads him, will conclude them not only almost but altogether such; he was a Man vehement and of extremity of Spirit, and his business is in his whole three Books, to set and continue our Church against her self, one of her Members against another, and all of them opposite to Christ Jesus, exactly answering his Title, *de Politeia Ecclesiastica Christiani & Hierarchica oppositæ*, and indeed most that have appear'd since him against

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gainſt the Government of the Church, and with appearance of pertinency, have not only ſharpned, but borrowed their Weapons from this ſhop of the *Philiſtines:* it is their Magazine and Store-houſe, as another Armory, like that of *David*'s in *Iſrael*, wherein are *Mille Clypei*, all ſorts of Weapons for theſe Mighty, and with which they have ſtill made their Attempts, even Batteries and Breaches upon us. Our learned Doctor *Pearſon*, ſince Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*, in his *Vindiciæ Epiſtolarum Ignatii*, in his firſt Chapter or Proeme, there relates him to be, though not the firſt ſetter on foot and contriver of that unworthy, moſt ſhameful Deſign upon *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles, in repreſenting them ſpurious and impoſed on the World; and that not one of them was wrote by that moſt Holy and Apoſtolical Martyr, whoſe name they bear; yet he was more bold, and went farther in the Attempt, than any one had done before him, and with whoſe Conjectures *Dailee*'s diſſertation is ſtuffed, and he may be ſaid a principal Cauſe why it ſpread ſo far, and has been ſo ſucceſsful to the great diſadvantage of our common Chriſtianity, from him or *Dialee*, or both, unleſs *Blundel* and *Salmaſius* be added, and which are much the ſame thing, it is Doctor *Stillingfleet* tranſlates what he has on this Subject, in his *Irenicum*, and who may have the honor to be the firſt that made it Engliſh, for any other I have met with, and tells us in the Mother-Tongue, *The ſtory of* Ignatius *(as much as it is defended with his Epiſtles) doth not ſeem to be any of the moſt probable*, cap. 6. Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. Sect. 16. I have heard I confeſs of Doctor *Owen*'s Preface to his Book of Perſeverance, and then, to be ſure, he is with abundance of honor, his ſecond, and, to omit the other ill Adventures in that unlucky Book of *particular Forms of Church-Government*, and which ſavour too much of *Robert Parker*'s muſty Veſſel, the Doctor is beyond meaſure unfortunate, who having by a notorious Miſtake urg'd the Autority of our whole Church repreſentative in King *Edward* VI day's, to avouch his moſt falſe Aſſertion. *That Epiſcopacy is not neceſſary and immutable. That the King's Majeſty may appoint Biſhops or not appoint them, or appoint other Officers for the Government of the Church, cap.* 8. When he goes on further, to prove this by the particular Autorities of our Doctors ſince, as *Whitgift*, *Cozins Whitgift*'s Chancellor, *Lowe*, *Hooker*, *Bridges*, &c. he is, if poſſible, more unlucky yet, and his Miſtake more ſhameful, he not only tranſcribes every Quotation out of *Parker*'s ſecond Book *De politeia Eccleſiaſtica, cap.* 39. 42. and the very Book, Page, Chapter, Section and Figures, ſtand all in *Parker*'s Margin, as they are wrote in his Book, and which is no great Matter, but, and which is the harder Fate, he urges and appeals to them, as his Autority, that Epiſcopacy is mutable and of but humane aſſignation, and which thing *Parker* all along there owns and declares, was not theſe Doctors Opinions, he upbraids and taunts them for aſſerting the contrary, as contradicting themſelves, and putting Cheats upon others; becauſe they believe *Biſhops by divine Right*

and

and perpetually obliging, 'tis his Objection upon them, that their own Principles will not bear them out in it. This is the caſe, theſe Doctors aſſert over and over again, as they muſt do, if agreeing with our Church, and their own Subſcriptions, that the Scriptures are not a full and perfect Rule for Diſcipline and Government, and there is ſtill a Power in the Church to make Laws, as occaſion offers, even to vary from Examples of Diſcipline and Government, which has there been practiſed. *Parker* thinks he has the advantage, and concludes upon them, that then the Government by Biſhops is changeable alſo, and which is founded only on Scripture Example, and who reply, that though they can make Laws in ſome Caſes, and alter them as occaſion, yet in all they cannot: though ſome Examples in Scripture do not, yet others do neceſſarily oblige, and the Examples they produce neceſſarily obliging are theſe. *Impoſition of Hands in Ordinations, that to impoſe Hands is appropriated to Biſhops, as the Apoſtles Succeſſors. The obſervation of the Lord's-Day. The inſtitution of Metropolitans*, &c. and this very account *Parker* himſelf gives us, as to theſe Inſtances, and all which will readily appear to any one that reads over *Parker*, *l.* 2. *cap.* 39, 40, 41, 42. particularly *cap.* 42. *Sect.* 8. 9. and that conſults farther than Titles and Margins. And that this *Power of making Canons and Laws for the Government and Diſcipline of the Church, is one of the main Foundations of the Hierarchy, and therefore* Parker *ſets himſelf with might and main to oppoſe it.* This will be yielded Chap. 6.

Chap 6 yielded to Doctor *Stillingfleet*, 'twas this alone, by which the Courts Eccleſiaſtical kept them within ſome moderate Bounds; nor did they break out into Rebellion and Schiſm, till that Power was abated in the execution, and which made the Biſhops ſo odious to them: but that Epiſcopacy it ſelf is as Arbitrary, in its original, and occaſionally only, as are many Church Laws, and in the Power of any order of Perſons, or any Perſon now upon Earth, to alter or confirm it. This *Parker* by arguing would willingly inſer upon theſe Doctors from their own Principles, but acknowledges they did not own, contrary to their Principles, this Dr. *Stillingfleet* every ways miſtakes and reports, out of *Parker*'s ill gathered Concluſion and Objection, as their both Principles & Practice, and ſo every ways defames them; and i ſhall only propoſe it to the Doctors conſideration, whether ſome ſatisfaction may not, ought not to be required of him, for the injury he has done to ſo many Worthies of our Church hereby. I can aſſure him, it has been long expected, and if it be not done ſuddenly, he may believe, the World ere it be much older, will be particularly diſinformed: at preſent I ſhall return to thoſe Doctors mentioned in the beginning of this Section, and who are not yet freed from the Contumelies laid on them by *Parker*, as theſe are from his, though I do not queſtion, but I ſhall equally vindicate both.

§ XXVI. IT is an eaſie thing to make any Man's Writing, in a plauſible ſhew to run thwart to and contradict themſelves, the occaſion and

and Circumſtances not conſidered, and if particular Occurrencies be not abated for, the worſt of Hereſies will thus ſhelter themſelves under the beſt Autorities. How largely and frequently do the Ancient Fathers of the Church ſpeak of the Powers and excellence of Nature and Reaſon, when diſputing againſt the Gentiles, when Apologizing for and recommending to them the Chriſtian Religion, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Apol.* 2. goes ſo far, as to ſay the wiſer ſort of the Greeks were Chriſtians, ſuch as *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, &c. οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες, &c. becauſe living up to the Rules of Reaſon, but muſt not thoſe be wide Arguings that ſay (and ſome have ſaid it,) the Fathers thought the uſe of Reaſon alone able to direct and aſſiſt us for Heaven, when 'tis the coming of Chriſt in the Fleſh, his additional ſuper-natural Revelations of Grace and Truth, thoſe farther diſcoveries and aſſiſtances to Mankind, is the occaſion and general ſubject of their Writings, and a belief of which is that they endeavor to bring the Greeks unto, to make evident and rational to all Men, when 'twas only the particular application of an Argument they aim'd at, and in the deſign is moſt true, that every one ſo far as truly rational, he is Chriſtian, Chriſtianity is no new thing nor ſtrange. εἰ τὰ καθόλου καὶ φύσει, καὶ δίκαια, καλὰ ἐποίουν, εὐάρεστα ἦσι τῷ θεῷ. Whoſoever purſues Juſtice and Honeſty, and other commendable Actions ſuited to the univerſal, eternal Rules of Nature, is acceptable to God, by this both the Jews under the Law, and the Patriarchs and holy Men from the

Chap. 6.

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Chap. 6. first Creation, through the knowledg of Christ were saved, as *Justin Martyr* disputes *cum Tryphone Judeo*, and *Eusebius* has a whole Chapter to this purpose, *Eccl. Hist. l.* 1. *c.* 4. Every one that is read in that History knows, that the great cry of the *Arians* against the Council of *Nice* was, they were Innovators, (and a licentious Pen has of late managed and pursued it afresh, *Sandius hist. Enucleata*) as using Words, and bringing in Doctrines which were not either in Scripture, or in the Writings and Determinations of the ancient Doctors of the Church; when asserting and explaining the one *substance*, or eternal Generation of the Son of God: which though it be in part a great untruth, and both *Athanasius Synod. Nicen. Cont. heres. Arian. decreta*, *p.* 277, 278. *Ed. paris. et Ep. de Synod. Arimini et Seleuciæ*, *p.* 889. *& Ep. ad ubique Orthodoxos*, *&c. p.* 943. and *Theodorit Eccl. hist. l.* 1. *c.* 5. *&* 12. refer them to the Writings of the eminent Bishops and Doctors, who lived an hundred and twenty years before the Synod of *Nice*, and then used this Word *Consubstantial* in explaining the Divinity of the Father and the Son, and 'tis what *Sandius* in effect confesses, only he thinks it for the dishonor of the Cause that all the Hereticks that were in the Church before *Arius* were *Homousians*, *hist. Enucleat. l.* 1. and which in truth is only this, the worst of Hereticks did not arrive to that height of impudence as to deny so received an acknowledgment in the universal Church. Yet what *Athanasius* replyes upon *Arius* himself (*Tom.* 1. *disputat. cum Ario*

pag.

pag. 134.) making the Objection is a better answer here, that what was in the Council asserted and declared, was alwaies in the Scriptures by way of consequence, and occasion was not given the Church, till the rise and spreading of that Heresie, for that particular and precise explication. Heresies and Novelties must be, and 'tis the work of Councils to detect and determine against them, but there would be mad work in the Church, should that go for Innovation, which an upstart Heresie forces the Church in new Terms to state and declare against, and explain themselves thereby; it must be declamed against, as defective in Autority and Precedents, because former Doctors had not sagacity enough, the very Apostles had not Spirit of Prophecy enough to anticipate the Fictions of every Brain; so to word it before-hand, that the particular Heresie in its Nicety, must be antidated and pre-abide upon Record baffled and contradicted. He that reads over St. *Jerome lib.* 1. *Cont. Jovinianum* will find him there, so urging Chastity, as if Marriage it self was a sin, and which that Father never design'd, as his Opinion: and *Dailee* confesses that he only speaks comparatively, and is so to be understood, as do, and are to be, many more of the Fathers, *cap.* 5. *de usu patrum*, though he will not allow it him in other Cases, and when to serve his own particular Design of him, I mean as to his Judgment of Episcopacy, and will have his Epistle *ad Evagrium*, and his Comments on *Titus* to the same purpose, to be absolute, and with no regard to those Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. those great, even just Provocations from the Bishops, in preferring the Deacon before the Presbyters, who as he well argues, are of so much more Power and higher Order in the Church, as that a Bishop is oft call'd a Presbyter in Scripture and Antiquity, when so injurious were the Bishops to the Presbyters, and so partial to the Deacons and indulgent, that the Deacons scorn'd the Presbyters Order, *qui ignorantes humilitatem status sui, ultra Sacerdotes, hoc est, Presbyteros, intumescunt, injuriam putent, si Presbyter ordinetur.* Their nearer attendance on the Bishops Person, and familiarity with him, with other advantages attending, occasioned that they found it an Injury to be promoted to the Presbyters Order, as he tells us, Comment in *Ezek. cap.* 48. and which together with the great superciliousness and insulting pride of *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, exercized over him, and giving some disturbance to his Monastick ease in the holy Land, (*Ep.* 60, 61.) something raised his spleen, and in vindicating his own Order, he spared not some little flourishes or Arguments abating of the Episcopate, if thereby these indecencies might cease. What effects all this had at that time, we read not, and that it was afterwards lookt upon by the Church, as his alone Passion and particular Provocation, we have all the reason in the World to believe, it all ceased with his Person to be sure, if not with the Passion; nor do we find any one follower he had, or is his Autority ever used against the solitary appropriated Power of a Bishop above a Presbyter,

Presbyter, 'till of late in theſe parts of Chriſtendom: who thence take the riſe for their Schiſm, and 'tis the ground they ſtand upon, for the battery and aboliſhing the whole Order, and with-drawing their obedience, and which to be ſure St. *Jerome* never did, nor attempted, and herein they are particularly unlucky, they beat down Biſhops by St. *Jerome*'s Autority, to bring in their Schiſm, and 'tis the main Argument they ſtill urge againſt them, in the height of theſe Diviſions and Diſtractions are now on foot in *Europe*, and then too when they contend, that St. *Jerome* knew no other occaſion or uſe of Biſhops, but *ad tollenda Schiſmata*; becauſe Schiſms and Diviſions cannot be kept out of the Church, but by them. So that, St. *Jerome*'s Autority, if any thing in their preſent Caſe, muſt be againſt them, and if complying with him, they muſt for the preſent expedience, ſubmit unto Biſhops, whom they'l allow to have acknowledged this neceſſity and uſefulneſs of them, what ever reaſons elſe he ſaw for their inſtitution and continuance. 'Tis that which Doctor *Durel* pleads for Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*; that admitting him guilty of *Eraſtianiſm*, and he did reſolve the Power of the Keys into the Prince, as Doctor *Stillingfleet* ſays he was, and did, his preſent Circumſtances will plead much for him, and the other Doctors of his time, if of the ſame mind then with him, he had been educated in many Errors, with which the Church, the whole Age, at that time abounded, and though a Reformation was on foot, no wonder if in ſome Inſtances Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. ſtances he was in the wrong, 'twas then their work to abdicate the Biſhop of *Rome*, and eaſe him of that Primacy and uſurpation he had exerciſed over this Church, and it might ſo happen that in giving to the King what was his, he abated too much of the Power of the Prieſthood and the Church, and which was hers, and not to be given to any other, and yet even this Error did he ſee at laſt, acknowledged it to Doctor *Leighton*, ſubmitted to and ſubſcribed the truth againſt it, as the Dean of *Windſor* tell us he read it in Doctor *Stillingfleet*'s Manuſcript, and in his preſence. And there is enough to be pleaded of this nature in the behalf of thoſe inconſiderable Offers are made againſt our three eminent Biſhops, *Whitgift*, *Bilſon* and *Bancroft*, and which will ſo thoroughly acquit them of the but ſuſpition of *Eraſtianiſm*; that the Bill muſt in courſe be flung out, that is drawn up againſt them, every one knows, that is converſant in thoſe their Writings, whence *Parker*'s Objections are taken. The Point under debate, was moſtly, very near altogether in King *Henry* VIII. day's betwixt the King and the Pope, whether was ſupreme in the forenſick, outward Eccleſiaſtical Courts and Proceedings on the Perſons of Men within this his Majeſties Kingdom: the Pope had uſurped it for ſome time, the King reaſſumes it, Religion it ſelf was not thought to be concerned, 'twas what was reputed only ſecular, and the moſt eminent, and very near all the Biſhops, were zealous Sticklers againſt the Pope, or, at leaſt, ſubmitted to it, then, when zealous for

for the *Roman* Catholick Religion, Doctrines and Worſhip, and to which they adhered in King *Edward*'s days and Queen *Elizabeth*'s, when the Reformation went on farther, and was ſettled, as now, by Law in the Church. The Supremacy was not then the Characteriſtical Mark, though ſince, to keep up the Parties, it is ſo, and which occaſioned that warm Dialogue betwixt the Jeſuite and Doctor *Bilſon*, of which I have given ſo large an account already, the Doctor's deſign being to vindicate our Church, from the Opinions of *Eraſtus*, urged in effect upon us by the Jeſuite, and that by aſſerting the Prince Supreme in all Cauſes over all Perſons; we give not to him any thing that is Church-Power, enſtated by Chriſt on the Apoſtles, and by them derived to the Biſhops, their alone Succeſſors herein, this being thus ſettled and over-ruled againſt the *Romaniſt*, another Enemy, Man comes with his Tares, and which are ſcattered in the ſeed-Plot, and grow up together with it, the Puritan ſtarts up in the midſt of us, and the Point is, That this Power of the Keys is in the Presbytery, their Elderſhip, made up of Lay-Men moſtly, cail'd *Lay-Elders*, and theſe for the greateſt part (as muſt be in abundance of Pariſhes) Mechanicks, and the meaner ſort, who have the Power of laying on of Hands, Ordaining and Excommunicating, nay more, theſe inconſiderable Perſons are not only inveſted with the Power of Biſhops and Church-Men, but with that Power and Supremacy, is by us given to the Prince, to Preſide over and Govern all Perſons Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. ſons and Cauſes, by Proceſs, to Cite, Summon and Convene, before them, to implead, acquit, or condemn, amerce or puniſh, even to confinement, in their Conſiſtories, and no Cauſe or Perſon to be exempted, if manageable in order to Religion, they emulate and ſucceed the Pope himſelf, and in the higheſt inſtances of his pretended Power and Soveraignty, even to Summon and Cenſure Kings, of whom Perſonal Attendance is required; now againſt this it is, theſe Worthies change and wield their Weapons accordingly, as a good Fencer is ready at all, againſt theſe *New Popes*, as they call them; and whoſo pleaſe may read in Biſhop *Bancroft*'s *Survey of the pretended holy Diſcipline*, cap. 22, 23, 24, 25. and in his Book of *Dangerous Poſitions and Proceedings publiſhed and practiſed within the Iſland of* Britain, *under pretence for Reformation, and for the Presbyterial Diſcipline*; In Biſhop *Bilſon*'s *Perpetual Government of Chriſt's Church*, Cap. 9, 10. and Biſhop *Whitgift*'s *Defence of the Anſwer to the Admonition*, Tract. 17. pag. 627, 628, 629, 630, &c. againſt theſe it is their warmth and Argument is ſpent, in Defence of the Rights of the King and Church, in ſcorn and deteſtation of ſuch thoſe pretending Ignaro's. Their words are theſe, with a deal more to this purpoſe; *As though Chriſt's Soveraignty, Kingdom and Lordſhip were no where acknowledged, or to be found, but where half a dozen Artiſans, Shoo-makers, Tinkers and Taylors, with their Preacher and Reader (Eight or Nine Cherubins forſooth) do rule the whole Pariſh.* So *Bancroft*, Dangerous Poſitions, &c.

l. 2. c. 2. *That the King muſt ſubmit to the Paſtor, and be content to be joyned in Commiſſion with the baſeſt ſort of People, if it pleaſe the Pariſh to appoint him, and if over-ruled muſt be contented, and the Prince loſes all Autority in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and he muſt maintain and ſee executed ſuch Laws, Orders, and Ceremonies, as the Paſtor with his Seniors ſhall make and decree.* So Biſhop *Whitgift*, ibid. p. 656, 657. *That the Church-warden and Syde-men in every Pariſh, are the meeteſt Men that you can find to direct Princes in judging of Eccleſiaſtical Crimes and Cauſes; a wretched ſtate of the Church it muſt be that ſhall depend on ſuch ſilly Governors, as Husbandmen and Artiſans, Ploughmen and Craftsmen, and we deſcend to the Cart for advice in Church-Government.* So Biſhop *Bilſon, Perpetual Government, Cap.* 10. and if thus in behalf of the Regal and Sacerdotal Power, the Magiſtracy and the Miniſtry (and which are the only Governors of the Church of Chriſt, as they contend) againſt theſe monſtrous ſort of People, with their High-ſhoo'd feet and Clowns hands invading both, the King and the Church be ſet as one man to oppoſe them, and their diſtinct Powers not ſo nicely and diſtinctly ſtated at one time, as they are and require at another, and appear but as one Weapon, that with preſent advantage it may be weilded againſt them; this is to be imputed to the warmth and zeal of the Diſputant, whether as Aggreſſor or Defendant; his ſettled particular judgment is to be fetch'd from his particular deſigned Deciſion and Determination in other Caſes; and when the naked Chap. 6.

Chap. 6 Cauſe is alone and before him, the immediate proper object of his Conſideration; and it muſt be confeſſed (neither do I believe the great reaſon and choicer learning of that excellent Prelate, were he now alive again, could, upon ſecond thoughts extricate himſelf) that Biſhop *Bilſon*'s Argument againſt Lay-Elders (*Cap.* 10. *Pag.* 148. and which *Robert Parker* ſo much twits him with) is wide of a Concluſion, and very ill laid, it runs thus. 'I cannot conceive how Lay-'Elders ſhould be Governors of Chriſt's 'Church, and yet be neither Miniſters nor 'Magiſtrates; Chriſt being the Head and 'fulneſs of the Church which is his Body, 'governeth the ſame, as a Prophet, a Prieſt, 'and a King; and after his Example all Go-'vernment in the Church is either Prophetical, Sacerdotal or Regal; the Doctors have 'a Prophetical, the Paſtors a Sacerdotal, and 'the Magiſtrates a Regal Power. What fourth 'Regiment can we find for Lay-Elders? All that can be ſaid is this, there appear'd an Argument againſt a Lay-Elder, he was thought thus ſhut out from having any Place or Power as from Chriſt, not conſidering the ill diſtribution of the offices of Chriſt, in general, and his bad-placed Succeſſions, and more eſpecially the worſer conſequence, that muſt attend, a deriving the Magiſtrates Power from the Mediatorſhip, and 'tis what neither *Whitgift* nor *Bancroft* did Conſider. As a King, Prieſt and Prophet, he erected and ſettled his Church on Earth, by virtue of that Commiſſion; and *All Power given him of the Father*, Mat. 11. but he did not, as ſuch, meddle

meddle with the Kingdoms on Earth as the Mediator, he was himſelf a Subject, and profeſſed and practiſed Subjection and Obedience, demanded only the Subjects right, Protection by the Government he found eſtabliſhed in the World by his Father. But however the preſent Argument was wrong laid, and whenceſoever the Magiſtrates Power is derived, 'tis all along, and by them all, ſuppoſed and maintained quite different and apart from that of the Miniſtry, or the Prieſthood, and they are aſſerted two quite diverſe offices, and their Powers do not reach to one another. I'le only now inſtance in Biſhop *Bilſon*, Cap. 9. pag. 113. 'As for Excommunication, if you take it for removing the unruly from the Civil Society of the Faithful, 'until they conform themſelves to a more 'Chriſtian ſort of life; this he takes to be 'the Power of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate: and 'he goes on and ſays, I am not averſe that 'the whole Church where he is wanting, did 'and ſhould concur in that action, for thereby the ſooner, when all the Multitude joyn 'with the Paſtor in one Mind to renounce all 'manner of converſing with ſuch, will the 'Parties be reduced to a better mind, to ſee 'themſelves rejected and exiled from all company; but 'tis the Paſtors charge only to 'deliver or deny the Sacraments, *Pag.* 114. '147. but otherwiſe Lay-men that are no Magiſtrates, may not challenge to intermeddle with the Paſtors Function, or over-rule 'them in their own Charge, without manifeſt 'and violent intruſion on other mens Callings 'without the Word and Will of Chriſt, who Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. ‘gave his Apoſtle the Holy Ghoſt, to remit ‘and retain Sins. And ſo expreſly again, *p.* 149. ‘If you joyn not Lay-Elders in thoſe Sacred ‘and Sacerdotal Actions with Paſtors, but ‘make them Overſeers and Moderators of ‘thoſe things which Paſtors do, this Power ‘belongeth exactly to Chriſtian Magiſtrates, ‘to ſee that Paſtors do their Duty exactly ac- ‘cording to the Will of Chriſt, and not to ‘abuſe their Power to annoy his Church or ‘the Members thereof; neither is the caſe ‘alike betwixt Paſtors and Lay-Elders. Paſtors ‘have their Power and Function diſtinguiſhed ‘from Princes by God himſelf; inſomuch ‘that it were more than Preſumption for ‘Princes to execute thoſe actions by them- ‘ſelves, or by their Subſtitutes. To Preach, ‘Baptize, retain Sins & impoſe Hands, Princes ‘have no Power; the Prince of Princes, even ‘the Son of God, hath ſevered it from their ‘Callings, and committed it to his Apoſtles, ‘and they by impoſition of hands derived it ‘to their Succeſſors; but to cauſe theſe actions ‘to be orderly done according to Chriſt's ‘Commandment, and to prevent and redreſs ‘abuſes in the doers, this is all that is left ‘for Lay-Elders, and this is all that we re- ‘ſerve for the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, and that no other Church-Power was then thought by any to belong to the Prince; he was not at all conſidered as its Subject, there was no ſuch thing as a pretence then on foot, 'tis moſt plain, *Cap.* 9. *pag.* 108. and among the many Conceits about the Power of the Keys, and Subject, this never entred into the heart of any; his words are theſe, ‘The Power of the ‘Keys

'Keys, and right to impoſe Hands, I mean Chap. 6.
'to ordain Miniſters, and to Excommuni-
'cate Sinners, are more controverted than
'the other two, (the Word and Sacraments
'and which were never queſtioned) by reaſon
'that diverſe Men have diverſe Conceits of
'them, ſome faſten them on the liking of the
'Multitude, which they call the Church;
'others commit them to the judgment of cer-
'tain choſen Perſons as well of the Laiety as
'of the Clergy, whom they call the *Presbytery*.
'Some attribute only, but equally, to all Pa-
'ſtors and Preachers, and ſome eſpecially re-
'ſerve them to Men of the greateſt gifts, ri-
'peſt years, and higheſt calling among the
'Clergy. But there's none mentioned that
'they are in the Prince. 'Tis, I know, the uſual Expreſſion in the *Pulpit* Prayer, and the King is placed *next under Chriſt in theſe His Majeſtie's Realms and Dominions*, and which as that Prayer it ſelf, has no good bottom, that ever I could meet with, for ſuch the uſe of it, a meer Arbitrary cuſtomary thing; where did God ever make Chriſt his Deputy, and the King Chriſt's, as to the worldly Powers and Secular things of this life? his Commiſſion to our Saviour ran quite contrary, and nothing leſs can be gathered from it, this is to found right of Dominion in Grace with a Witneſs, our Kings did not receive, or rather reaſſume it upon theſe terms, nor do they ſince acknowledge it as ſo derived, King *Henry* VIII. did not, and there's no ſuch thing in any one Act or Statute in his days. Doctor *Burnet* indeed in his Collection of Records, gives us two in-

Chap. 6. ſtances wherein the Title of *Supreme Head under Chriſt of the Church of* England. *Supremum Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ *ſub Chriſto Caput.* The one in the *Injunctions to the Clergy made by* Cromwel, *Pag.* 178. *Num.* 12. the other in the *Commiſſion by which* Bonner *held his Biſhoprick of the King*, Pag. 184. Num. 14. but in his *Addenda*, Pag. 305. Num. 1. in the Preamble to *Articles about Religion, ſet out by the Convocation, and Publiſhed by the King's Authority*, 'tis only, *and in Earth Supreme Head of the Church of* England, *and which is of more Authority than the other, becauſe in Convocation*; It is once or twice uſed by King *Edward*, before his Injunctions, Articles, *&c.* and ſometimes left out, but no mention of it, but never uſed by Queen *Elizabeth*, in any of hers, or in her Proclamations; nor is it commanded in her Form of bidding of Prayer, nor in the Canons, or Form of bidding Prayer in the days of King *James*; 'tis neither in the Oath of *Supremacy* or *Allegiance*, and which is to be ſeen in the account we have of them by *Anthony Sparrow* now Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*, in his Collection of Canons, Articles, Injunctions, *&c.* and our Seven and thirtieth Article of Religion gives the Queens Majeſty, that only Prerogative was given all Godly Princes by God himſelf in Holy Scriptures, that which had the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, that which had the Kings of the Gentiles, the King of *Nineveh*, in the Prophecy of *Jonah*, and which is an inſtance I find given by our Divines of the preceding Power in other Princes, we contend for, and have determined to be in ours, and with which if the

the

Prince be not invested, he has no Government over his People; a great part always will, and all may when they will, exempt their Persons and Actions from his cognizance and inspection, upon pretence of their Faith, and Religion, but there is not a word of any one Derivation as from Christ; nor as the Mediator, doth he, can he, bestow any such Power upon them, or are Kings thus *under* him, or any ways, then as Members of his Body, and as Christians; they are to submit to, and receive his Laws in order to Heaven, and these Laws are to be their Rule in their Government upon Earth, which they are to obey and protect, which indeed supports and exalts them, as Righteousness does a Nation; but 'tis in and by that Autority they were invested in before Christ, and they were indeed in a feeble piteous Case if no other Power to rule with, than what the crucifyed Jesus can give them, whose Kingdom was not of this World; nor did he manage any thing by the Powers of it; I know it is the least of the Designs of such that still use this Expression in their Prayers and Discourses, and they have great Examples for it, and of those who abominate the natural and direct consequences are thence to be drawn, where the Civil Power is return'd into the Mediator; but it throughly answers their Expectations, who contend to have their Prince a Priest too, and would delight more to see him in his Rocher, and at the Altar, Blessing and Consecrating, than on his Throne and with his Scepter, sweying and governing his People, and for which latter they believe themselves equally Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. capacitated and enabled as he, and their belief on these Grounds is well bottomed; for Christ when ascending up on high, gave no other Gifts to Men, than what either enabled to the work of the Ministry, and which alone were for peculiar Persons; or what made Christians good and virtuous men only; and which were to all promiscuous and common. And had our Church in her Article, given to Kings that only *Prerogative* they saw given to *Aristotles* Prince, and which is extended to the τὰ θεῖα also, as is above shew'd, to the things of Religion, it had been the same, though less popular and perswading; I shall only add the Autority of Doctor *Hammond*, in his Practical Catechism, *Lib.* 2. *Sect.* 11. that Christ in his Sermon on the Mount meddled not with the Fifth Commandment. 'Though he were as God, the King of all 'Kings, and might have changed and disposed 'of their Dominions as he pleased; yet he 'was not pleased to make any Alteration, but 'to continue and settle all in that course 'wherein it formerly had been placed by God 'himself,——What he added to *Moses* in 'this Matter was only greater reverence and 'aw to the Father or Magistrate, or Civil 'Power,----he left the Woman taken in Adultery, and other Offenders, to the ordinary 'legal course, and would not upon any importunity usurpor take upon him any thing 'in that Matter; and more considerate Papists, 'as he goes on and tells us, discerning this, 'and yet unwilling to devest the Pope of his 'so long usurped Power, have found it necessary to pretend another tenure for him, and

'therefore

'therefore ſtyle the Pope, not the Vicar of Chap. 6.
'Chriſt (for that would give him no Power,
'ſo much as of a Civil Judge) but the Vicar
'of God, whom he hath ſet up to be the Vice-
'gerent of all the World. The whole Diſ-
courſe might not unfitly be here tranſcribed,
only 'tis, as it ought to be, in every bodies
hands.

BUT what if theſe Doctors were in the de- §. XXVII.
ſign againſt us, as we do not reſolve our Faith
into one Doctor, or Biſhop at *Rome*; So nei-
ther do we into three, or twice ſo many at
home, of what Order and Autority ſoever,
and which adds in it ſelf, juſt nothing to the
Skill of a Divine, nor is the Tradition of
Truth broken by it. And indeed there are
ſo many Accidents in the World, and with ſo
great force upon Mankind, ſo often influen-
cing and over-ruling, that Chriſtianity in its
particular Articles, and ſometimes the higheſt
of them, would be but in a bad Condition,
were it reſponſible for what every particular
Doctor has ſaid or wrote, and which comes
not up unto them; whether out of a tender-
neſs of Diſpoſition, a miſtaken Zeal for Union
and to reconcile, Moderation and Compre-
henſion, a keeping preſent Peace, or a deſign
of working more effectually for the future;
or whether through a fear and impotency of
Nature, averſe to and unable for Struglings,
wearied out by daily Provocations, or a fore-
ſight of ſome Calamities foreſeen and approa-
ching, and every one is not an *Athanaſius* al-
ways undaunted, or real miſapprehenſion in
the underſtanding; or which is a thing very
frequent upon the riſe of an Hereſie, to ſet
up

Chap. 6. up for a middle way, and which is as injurious, to gratifie either luſt in general, or that itch of Ambition in particular, and to become the Head of a Party, whether out of peeviſhneſs or revenge, or to magnifie their own Parts and Eloquence, lead by the Autority of Names, or by ſelf-intereſt, blinded by one or more of which ways, errors and differences in Religion are either occaſioned or ſtarted, managed and purſued. No ſooner was his Maſter *Juſtin Martyr* dead, but *Tatianus* grew Proud, and puffed up with an opinion of being uppermoſt in the School, turn'd Heretick, *Iren. adv. Hæreſ. cap.* 31. *l.* 1. *Baſilides* was a Maſter of luxury, and was to do ſomething extraordinary to diſguiſe it, as St. *Jerome. Tom.* 3. *l.* 2. *adv. Jovinian.* and ſo was *Marcion*, as *Tertullian Preſcript. Cap.* 51. and *Lactantius* tells us of ſeveral others who affecting the higheſt Order in the Church, ſtudying Honour and Greatneſs, and failing of it, made a Seceſſion from the Church, not enduring Subjection, *Lib.* 4. *Sect. ult.* and ſo did *Valentinus* becauſe he loſt a Biſhoprick, *Tertul. adv. Valent. cap.* 4. as did *Aerius*, *Novatius*, &c. and *Theodorit* deſcribes Hereticks in general *ambitioni & vanæ gloriæ mancipatos*, *Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 2. and *Sozomen* complains of a worſer effect they have yet in God's Church, *Nonnullos in vias medias adigunt*, *Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 1. occaſion the ſetting up ſomewhat like Truth which is not Truth, when they write *Irenicums*, and ſet up for Reconcilers, make a hotch-potch of Truth and Falſhood together, a ſure way to elude and baffle Truth, and inſinuate Error, the abatement

ment being ſtill on Truth's ſide, and the Er- Chap. 6.
ror is brought to become tolerable, and which would not in plain terms have been endured, but thus gets ground onward, and ſo much of Truth is deſtroyed and eraſed, to give place to the Falſhood. This was the moſt deviliſh Plot of *Julian* the Apoſtate, by which he baffled Chriſtianity, he mixed his Paganiſm with it, complied in many inſtances of its Performances, that the leſs diſcerning might be the eaſier carried over to it; a very ill conſequence of Error, moſtly ruining Truth, and moſtly to be abominated; the Ape is the more deformed becauſe like a Man, and is not one. *Tertullian* turn'd Montaniſt, in diſdain of the Pride of the greater Clergy at *Rome*, as *inter fragmenta Tertull.* and *Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccleſiaſt.* no one ſtands fairer in the Church Story for Piety and Morals than *Pelagius*, and he and his Scholars, *Julianus*, *Celeſtius*, &c. ſeduced many by it, deſigned and perverted it to that alone purpoſe, even Men of great Fame and Learning became thereby inclined to them; as *Sixtus* at *Rome*, *John* of *Jeruſalem*, *Cyril* in *Egypt*, and *Sulpitius Severus* in *France*; And particularly the Rich and Potent Women, whom he ſtrangely inſinuated into by all manner of Flatteries, Hypocriſies and Deluſions; (and which generally are the Engines Hereticks have work'd by, as in Church Story) and for which *Auſtin* and *Jerome* ſufficiently ſhrape him; as an account is given at large by *Joannes Garnerus*, the late Publiſher of the Works of *Marius Mercator. Diſſert.* 4. *De Subſcript.* &c. *Cap.* 3. who was, or who could be more ſtout and coura-

Chap. 6. couragious for the *Nicene* Faith, than was *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, and which appeared in his behaviour all along, particularly in his personal Conference with our Emperor, suffering Banishment for it, an account of which is given by *Athanasius*, *Apol. pag.* 833. *Ed. Paris.* & *Sozomen Eccles. Hist. l.* 4. *c.* 11. and yet *lassus injuriis*, provoked and tired out by oppressions, he forsook *Athanasius*, and went over to the Sect of the *Arians*, *Pag.* 837. ibid. and so did the Divine *Hosius*, then ancientest Bishop in the Christian World, and who was in a manner the Author of the Determinations of the first Council of *Nice*. *Sulpitius Severus* suspects he might be in his dotage, and there is ground enough for the Suspition, being an hundred years old, as 'tis in his *Historia Sacra*, *lib.* 2. a Man, if any that ever lived could be, to be exempted, one would think, from so great an Apostasie, as will appear by the Character *Athanasius* gives him, *Ep. ad solitariam vitam agentes*, pag. 840. and yet *tormenta longævus, plagasq; perpessus est, unde etiam necessitate vehementi, expositionibus tunc editis Syrmiensi Synodo consensit, atq; subscripsit*, *Hist. Tripartit. l.* 5. *c.* 9. being of a great Age, and by reason of his many Sufferings, through a more than usual force, he consented and subscribed to the Expositions set forth in the Synod at *Syrmium*. *Gregory Nazianzen* says in the Life of *Athanasius*, that there was very few to be found, that were not contemptible for their obscurity, or very eminent for virtue, as the seed and root remaining in *Israel*, whence the Truth was to spring out and reflourish; as it did upon the return

return of *Athanaſius*, which did not for fear or gain, by flattery or through ignorance, *tempori obſequi, qui quamvis mente haudquaquam prolapſi fuerint*, ſubſcribe with their hand, amongſt whom he confeſſes himſelf to be one, but withal, and which is not uſual, obliges the World with his Publick Acknowledgment and Recantation. This is the time when St. *Jerome adv. Luciferian.* and in his Comments in *Pſ.* 133. ſays, *Totum orbem fuiſſe Arianum*, that the whole World was *Arian*, and which only can be underſtood, as St. *John* muſt be, when he tells us, if all that our Saviour did were written, the whole World could not contain the Books, *i. e.* there would be a great many; and for this St. *Jerome* himſelf will become his own avoucher, who in his Comments on *Ezekiel*, cap. 48. thus beſpeaks the Catholick Prieſts, *Audiat hoc ſacerdotalis gradus*, &c. that though over-power'd by the *Arians*, yet, as holding the true Faith, ſo their manners be accordingly; and that the *Homouſians* were numerous and viſible, even then might be made to appear, were I now to write that Hiſtory. I'le add but one more way by which particular Perſons are ſeduced and miſled into Hereſie; 'tis by Lies, underhand Dealings, and downright Forgeries, obtruded upon Mankind. Thus the *Pelagia* grew and was numerous, ſtill making uſe of the Names and feigned Counterfeit Letters of Biſhops and Eminent Men in his Commendations, and the favour of his Hereſie, as the ſame Publiſher of *Marius Mercator* gives us an account alſo, *Ibid.* And then ſince ſo much uncertainty in the Autorities of parti- Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. particular Doctors, since liable to so many failures, and under so many ill and provoking Circumstances, and to many of which good Men are liable, are over-sweigh'd and over-ruled thereby for some time; how unequal, unjust a thing is it to urge them, each Circumstance not considered, but most of all when an accidental saying, or pressing a present Argument is reported to the World, the sense and judgment of a Doctor, against the whole course and design of all his other Writings, and the publickly declared Doctrines of that Church of which he is a Member, which he owns and professes, submits and subscribes to? That of *Tertullian* in his Prescriptions, *Cap.* 3. is the more substantial and rational way, *Quid ergo si Episcopus, si Diaconus lapsus à regula fuit, idcò hæreses veritatem vid. habuit obtinere? ex personis probamus fidem an ex fide personas?* what if a Bishop, or a Deacon, or whoever he be falls from the Rule, shall Heresie thence obtain Truth? shall we prove the Faith by the Persons, or the Persons by the Faith? if *Theodosius* the Great design'd any more than a *Committee of Triers*, when appointing such a set number of Bishops, to examine every one that was admitted to a benefice in the Church, as so many *Doctores Probabiles*, as he terms them, in Communion with whom all must be, that are *instituted* or *inducted*, or whatsoever was the way and expression of then giving Titles and Possession, *Cod. Theodos.* 16. *Tit.* 1. *l.l.* 2, 3. his Rule is unsafe, and the Church may be imposed upon by it, though the Bishop of *Rome* was one, for *Liberius* once subscribed to *Arianism*, nor in-

indeed did he deſign any more, and they were only as ſo many Examiners according to the *Nicene* Faith, and which the Piety and Zeal of that Holy Emperor did deſign and endeavour to have took place throughout his Dominions, and which is expreſs in the Laws. Nor was that ſo great a Seceſſion from this Faith in the days of *Conſtantius*, and then much leſs of one or two particular Doctors of the time, thought to break off the Succeſſion of ſuch the Doctrine, or render it leſs Catholick; but it is, notwithſtanding, declared to have continued from St. *Peter* the Apoſtle, by *Damaſus* and *Peter*, Biſhops of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, *uſq; nunc*, to his days, that then Period of time, ſafe and inviolated. Chap. 6.

FINIS.

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